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TOWARD A POLICE STATE

Using a national epidemic of crime and violence as their justification, media pundits and collectivist politicians are aggressively campaigning to disarm private citizens and strengthen federal law enforcement powers.

Firearms and Freedom

Why Crime Pays

The Curse of Compromise

KEEP THEM LOCAL (pg. 84)

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

According to the opinion polls, crime has become the number one issue in America. Many of our fellow citizens fear even taking a stroll through a park or walking from job to car. For many, the home has become, not a castle, but a prison, while drug dealers and thugs roam freely on the outside.

Amidst the recent clamor that something be done to quell the violence, politicians have been quick to offer solutions. Not surprisingly, those who once moaned for the rights of criminals are now thundering sound bites from "Dirty Harry" movies. Yet the solutions that receive the most play from the major media will inevitably make matters worse.

Going for the Guns

Take, for instance, the rising demand for stricter gun control laws. As William F. Jasper painstakingly documents in his overview article (page five), this demand is not just about a five-business-day waiting period, or the elimination of cheap "Saturday Night Specials," or the confiscation of "assault" weapons from drug kingpins. It is about the eventual outlawing of all guns in the hands of the American people.

The elimination of guns, we are told endlessly by the gun controllers and media pundits, will reduce crime. Never mind that restrictive gun laws cannot possibly reduce crime since they will leave law-abiding Americans in general, and the old and the weak in particular, at the mercy of criminal predators. Never mind that gun control, just as the name implies, is not so much about the *elimination* of weapons as it is about the *control* of weapons. Even if guns were outlawed, guns would still exist, but only in the hands of the government and criminals.

Other solutions for combating crime involve the gradual transfer of police powers from the localities and states to the federal government. These solutions include the creation of a national police corps, the infusion of large amounts of federal aid into the coffers of budget-stressed local police departments, the use of the National Guard for routine crime fighting, and the expansion of the federal criminal code. These solutions may at first glance appear appealing, particularly because they are always presented with enticing "get tough on crime" rhetoric. Yet closer inspection reveals the stark truth that the transfer of police powers to Washington will, like stricter gun control laws, make matters worse.

Police power is necessary, of course, to keep our streets and communities safe, but there is a vast difference between police power as it has historically and properly been used in this country — and the abusive police power of Nazi Germany, or Fascist Italy, or Communist Russia. In one case, police are hired by their fellow citizens to help protect their rights from criminals; in the other, police are agents of the central government, and their purpose is to keep the dictators in power. In fact, the kind of government a country has can be determined just by the attitude the citizens have toward their police: In a free society the police are viewed as friends while in a totalitarian society they are greatly feared.

If the American people ever allow themselves to be disarmed, and their independent police departments to become appendages of the growing federal leviathan, then the central government in Washington will possess unchecked power and America will become — by definition — a police state.

Will that power be abused? Will there be more Waco-style assaults — against not just "fringe" religious sects but the great body of the American people? The fact that many Americans are now innocently supporting steps toward a police state because they want to fight crime will not make the consequences of this transfer of power any less bitter. Neither will the fact that others know exactly what they are doing and are actually hoping that fear of crime will lead to a restructured American society.

The Way Out

How then do we fight crime? The answer, simply, is to make sure that crime does not pay. Decades of coddling criminals and unleashing them on society have fueled today's high crime rate; a reversal of these disastrous policies will have the opposite effect. Put simply: America does not have to move toward a police state to fight crime!

In this special issue of THE NEW AMERICAN, our writers examine the root causes of America's crime problem and the remedies that are being widely proposed. It is our hope that you will carefully review the evidence assembled in these pages in favor of maintaining an armed citizenry and independent police forces. We also encourage you to order extra copies of this issue (see the card between pages 78 and 79) and distribute them widely. The hour is urgent: When government fears guns in the hands of the people it is time for the people to fear the government! ■

— GARY BENOIT

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Volume 10, Number 7 The NEW AMERICAN April 4, 1994

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Is our crime crisis Insider-engineered? (p. 5)

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT · 23
The death penalty provides a means to restore respect for innocent life

GANGS · 27
Urban thugs receive aid and power from the federal government

ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION · 29
Immigrants — mostly illegal ones — make up a quarter of the federal prison population

THE ROOTS OF CRIME · 33
Welfarism, illegitimacy, sex, drugs — all are sapping the nation of its moral strength

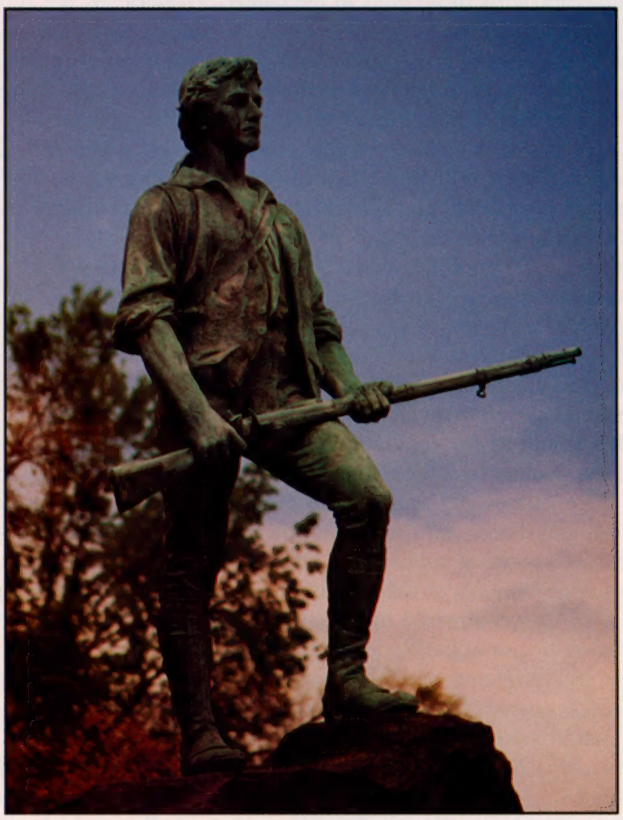
OVERVIEW · 5
The same forces that exacerbated crime are moving to outlaw guns and centralize police powers

CRIME

CRIME IN PERSPECTIVE · 13
Although the high rate of crime is still appalling, there has been a recent — albeit slight — downward trend

CRIMINAL JUSTICE · 17, 21
Treating criminals as victims of uncontrollable forces, our criminal justice system has made crime pay

The ACLU is the litigating vehicle behind the explosion of crime in America



Dan Edmonds

Our precious Second Amendment (p. 39)

Cover: *AP/Wide World photo*

GUN CONTROL CLICHÉS · 51
Collectivists cling to their worn-out gun control cliches, even though each one can be shot full of holes

GUEST OPINION · 59
Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America warns that we must never compromise on the gun issue

H. Armstrong Roberts

Answering worn-out gun control clichés (p. 51)

Police

TOWARD A POLICE STATE · 63, 69
America is steadily moving away from locally controlled law enforcement toward a national police force

Myriad laws and regulations give the omnipotent state ample opportunities to violate rights

Firearms

THE SECOND AMENDMENT · 39
The fundamental right to keep and bear arms is embedded in our history — and our Constitution

FIREARMS AND FREEDOM · 41
Dictators and would-be dictators outlaw guns because they realize that this right is the palladium of liberty

FIREARMS AND CRIME · 45
Guns in the hands of the law-abiding enable defense of life and property and deter crime

H. Armstrong Roberts

Keep them local, keep us free (p. 84)

Pro-life protest a federal offense? (p. 69)

LOCAL POLICE UNDER ATTACK · 77
The LAPD is the victim of high-level revolutionaries hoping to gain control out of chaos

CONGRESSIONAL INDEX · 80
Our tabulation shows how every representative and senator voted on several key gun and crime measures

THE SOLUTION · 84
Armed citizens and local police departments are essential for keeping order and preserving liberty

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A Cure Worse Than the Disease

Gun control and national police can't solve America's crime "crisis"

UPI/Bettmann photo

Decades of liberal machinations have made crime an easy option while making law enforcement dangerous and expensive

At last, it appears, even the most hopelessly "liberal" politician is acknowledging the reality of our desperate crime problem. After decades of coddling criminals and weeping oceans of compassionate tears for mass-murderers, rapists, child molesters, and other assorted "poor souls" who had been "victimized" by society, all at once everyone is for law and order.

President Clinton himself and "top cop" Janet Reno are leading the get-tough assault on crime. Congressional Republicans are joining hands with them in a bipartisan effort to rid our land of the murdering, robbing, thieving, marauding, drug-dealing, car-jacking thugs who have been holding us hostage in our own homes and communities. They speak of a crime "crisis." A profusion of federal, state, and local legislative efforts is promising to fix all this and return safety to our streets.

It's about time! Finally the politicians are listening to "the people"; they don't dare ignore the public groundswell. Is that what you're thinking? If so, you are about to be victimized by one of the crimes of the century. Forget about the car-jackers for a moment; it's the political highwaymen in Washington who are about to hijack your country and your freedom you'd better be most worried about.

Dangerous Agenda

With crime now receiving top billing on the national agenda, Americans had better come to understand very quickly some hard and bitter truths about the crime scourge that has been plaguing us. Otherwise, we stand not a chance of ridding ourselves of it and, in fact, will almost certainly end up in far worse condition. We are now approaching the midway point in the fourth decade of a crime wave that demands a concerted public response.

There are many putative crime-fighting proposals being offered for our salvation, but, at the national level, those being pressed most fervently and representing the gravest danger involve:

1) Further attempts to disarm the American people through various firearms regulation and confiscation schemes.

2) Movement toward nationalizing local police authority through federal "aid" programs.

3) Major transfer of power to the federal government over criminal matters previously reserved to state jurisdiction.

Not only will these programs, if passed, fail to stem the tide of crime, they will sound the death knell for constitutional limitations on government and speed the rise of the omnipotent, dictatorial state.

Our nation's crime statistics tell a brutal and frightening story. The National Crime Survey of the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics estimates that 83 percent of Americans will be victims of violent crime some time in their lives. According to the 1991 National Crime Survey, five million people annually are victims of violent crimes — murder,

rape, robbery, or assault. Each year 19 million Americans are victims of property crimes — arson, burglary, and larceny-theft. According to the FBI's latest annual "Crime Clock," there is a murder, on average, every 22 minutes, a rape every five minutes, a robbery every 47 seconds, and an aggravated assault every 28 seconds. There is a motor vehicle theft every 20 seconds, a burglary every 11 seconds, and a larceny-theft every four seconds.

Total dollar losses due to burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft were estimated at $15.2 billion for 1992, or $1,217 per reported offense. Burglary victims suffered losses estimated at $3.8 billion in 1992. One of every three residences in the U.S. will be burglarized at least once in a 20-year period, and there is a nine percent chance that a car owner will have his car stolen at least once in a ten-year period.

After surveying this carnage and outlawry, it is reasonable and rational for us to ask: "Who is committing all these crimes?" A perusal of the research literature on criminals quickly takes much of the mystery out of our crime problem. One study after another has confirmed that a relatively small group of criminal predators account for the vast majority of serious crimes.

In a 1990 study, criminologists Marvin Wolfgang and Robert Figlio found that a hard-core seven percent of criminals committed two-thirds of all violent crime, including three-fourths of the rapes and robberies and virtually all the murders. This same seven percent of repeat offenders not only had five or more criminal arrests by age 18, but went on committing felonies and got away with dozens of crimes for every arrest. Even worse, in 86 percent of the arrests no charges were brought. A 1987 study of 22 states conducted for the Bureau of Justice Statistics found that 69 percent of young males (ages 17 to 22) released from prison in 1978 were arrested within six years — each committing an average of 13 new crimes.

In other words, the overwhelming bulk of our crime wave is the work of a tiny criminal element that is being rewarded repeatedly with plea bargains, light sentences, suspended sentences, early release, easy parole, and probation.

Easy Targets

So who or what are Janet Reno and the other "sociological jurisprudence" types focusing on? Guns, of course, and local police. They say the problem is not the seven percent of hardened criminals they keep turning loose — it's too many guns in our society, and local police who are professionally inept, multiculturally insensitive, and politically incorrect. Patrick Purdy killed five children at a schoolyard in Stockton, California. His seven previous felony arrests had all been plea-bargained down to misdemeanors. However, rather than blaming Purdy and accepting responsibility for the laws and policies that set him free again and again, the collectivist politicians and their media allies launched a clamorous campaign to create the appearance of popular support for restricting the rights of the law-abiding citizens to own a vaguely defined category of firearms called "assault rifles."

And so it goes every time a shooting occurs, in spite of the fact that it contradicts everything we know about criminals and gun ownership. Consider: There are estimated to be well over 200 million firearms in the U.S., including some 60 to 65 million handguns. There are over 60 million gun owners. Less than 0.02 percent of the total firearms and less than 0.4 percent of handguns are used in criminal activities. In other words, 99.98 percent of U.S. guns are not involved in criminal use. Yet those are the very firearms — and the firearm owners — the politicians and gun controllers are targeting.

In doing so they are helping to increase both the crime level and crime rate. Researchers Morgan Reynolds and William Caruth report in *Myths About Gun Control:* "Each year, potential victims kill from 2,000 to 3,000 criminals and wound another 9,000 to 17,000" with firearms. Dr. Gary Kleck, professor of criminology at Florida State University, found in his 1993 national survey of American households that guns are used defensively to protect against criminal threats to person and property as many as two and one-half million times per year. Most of these incidents occur in the home or on the defender's property, but about a quarter of them (half a million or more incidents) involve persons defending themselves with firearms away from home. Around 14 percent of the incidents involve citizens actually firing their guns at the criminals.

The thugs on the street have surely taken notice. They may not be rocket scientists, but they have figured out that they do not want to mess with armed citizens. In their 1986 study, *Armed and Considered Dangerous,* researchers James D. Wright and Peter H. Rossi surveyed 1,874 imprisoned felons in ten states concerning their attitudes about the risks of encountering armed victims. Of the felons who had committed a violent crime or a burglary, 38 percent reported that they had been scared off, shot at, wounded, or captured by an

AP/Wide World photo

Patrick Purdy, whose seven previous felony arrests had been plea-bargained down to misdemeanors, gunned down five children in a California schoolyard

armed victim, and 43 percent said they had at some time in their lives decided not to commit a crime because they knew or believed the victim was carrying a gun. Moreover, 58 percent agreed that "most criminals are more worried about meeting an armed victim than they are about running into the police."

Down the Slippery Slope

Most folks would view such statistics with a sense of approbation: At least some criminals are getting their just deserts; a goodly number of citizens, armed with their own determination (and guns), are keeping themselves (and many of the rest of us) from becoming statistics on police blotters; and the uncertainty principle is keeping outlaws somewhat at bay. Those truly concerned about the crime deluge welcome the news that average citizens are swarming into gun stores and packing into pistol ranges in record numbers.

But the socialist, statist "liberals" are aghast. They insist that we focus not on the criminals committing the crimes, but on the prevalence and availability of firearms. For decades they have been working piecemeal to ban "Saturday night specials," "cop-killer bullets," "plastic guns," "assault weapons," and other categories of firearms and ammunition, while constantly pushing for stricter federal, state, and local registration and licensing. Always they have ridiculed the concerns of gun owners that these laws, besides violating our basic rights, constitute a start down the slippery slope into outright confiscation.

But that has been the precise intent of many of the gun control advocates for years. Back in 1973, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals of the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) issued a major report entitled *A National Strategy to Reduce Crime,* which called for "the enactment of State legislation prohibiting the manufacture of handguns, their parts, and ammunition within the State, except for sale to law enforcement agencies or for military use"; "prohibiting the sale of handguns, their parts, and ammunition to other than law enforcement agencies or Federal or State governments for military purposes"; and "the enactment of State legislation not later than January 1, 1983, prohibiting the private possession of handguns after that date."

In July 1976, Nelson T. Shields, executive director of the National Council to Control Handguns, stated in an article in *The New Yorker* that "the final problem is to make the possession of *all* handguns and *all* handgun ammunition — except for the military, policemen, licensed security guards, licensed sporting clubs, and licensed gun collectors — totally illegal." That was a particularly telling admission, since his group was the foremost gun control lobbying group in the country.

"The liberals have no objection to guns — only to guns they do not control. They are seeking a legal monopoly on guns ... in order to eliminate any final opposition to a socialist government."

The organization's name has since been changed to Handgun Control, Inc. (HCI), and is now headed by Sarah Brady, wife of James Brady, for whom the Brady bill was named. In December of last year, almost immediately following passage of the Brady law, HCI announced its new national gun control agenda. That agenda was then incorporated almost verbatim into H.R. 3932, a bill introduced into the House of Representatives on March 1st by Representative Charles Schumer (D-NY). Among the provisions in the Schumer-HCI bill are: a seven-day waiting period for the purchase of any handgun; licensing of all gun owners; increasing the federal tax on firearms from ten percent to 30 percent and on ammunition from 11 percent to 50 percent; banning 600 different types of guns and gun parts; banning so-called "assault weapons"; mandating that handgun owners obtain a state handgun safety certificate showing they have passed a safety course taught by a law enforcement instructor (not by the NRA or other private instructor); and an "arsenal" limit of 20 guns and 1,000 rounds of ammunition per individual. Of course, even if this were to pass, it would not satisfy the anti-gun hysteriacs. They would simply raise their sights to the next target.

Senator Dianne Feinstein's (D-CA) attack on shotguns and semiautomatic "assault weapons" was incorporated into the Biden crime bill passed by the Senate last winter. At least 14 other major anti-gun bills are in the congressional hopper. Representative Major Owens (D-NY) has even introduced legislation to repeal the Second Amendment outright, claiming that if this were to happen "people would celebrate in the streets."

In a meeting with editors and reporters of the *Los Angeles Times* following passage of the Brady bill last November, President Clinton opined that "I think we ought to look at some sort of standards for ownership [of guns] just the way every state does with automobiles."

Some are more emphatic. "Let's ban them," says NBC News President Michael Gartner. "There is no reason for anyone in this country, anyone except a police officer or a military person to buy, to own, to have, to use a handgun.... I now think the only way to control handgun use in this country is to prohibit the guns," said Gartner in a column for *USA Today* on January 16, 1992.

People Control

This is the mindset of most of Gartner's fellow elitists in the Fourth Estate, in Congress, and in many of our state legislatures. Which is why the *Washington Times* was not exaggerating one iota when it observed in a December 9, 1993 editorial: "The stated goal of the most active supporters of [gun] restrictions, aside from the 'moderate' goals they often espouse in the heat of legislative battle, is to abolish gun ownership totally."

Not only are these "liberal" statists refusing to confront the crime problem they have created, they are intent on preventing the law-abiding citizens from possessing the means to defend themselves against the predators. They want people control, not crime control. Congressman Earl Landgrebe (R-IN) explained more than two decades ago why this is. In 1973, during an earlier

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- The difference between revolutionary and evolutionary socialism. How the latter dominated our government in recent decades — in everything but name

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gun-ban frenzy, Landgrebe nailed the gun-grabbers square on the mark when he observed:

> What the liberals fear is privately owned guns — not guns owned by the Government. The liberal position on privately owned guns is entirely consistent with the liberal position on all private property; there shouldn't be any: all private property should be controlled, regulated or confiscated by the omnipotent state. The liberals have no objection to guns — only to guns they do not control. They are seeking a legal monopoly on guns … in order to eliminate any final opposition to a socialist government. This is the purpose of the gun control lobby — not the reduction of crime, which could be easily achieved by harsher penalties for criminals — but the elimination of citizen opposition to their socialist plans.

THIS LEGISLATION SHOWS WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT CRIME!
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CLINTON CRIME BILL
CONDOMS
CLINTON BENCH APPOINTEES
WHAT ABOUT THOSE 100,000 NEW COPS HE'S PUTTING OUT ON THE BEAT?
THEY'LL ALL BE NEEDED IN THE OFFICE TO DO BACKGROUND CHECKS FOR THE BRADY BILL!
ASAY
COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH
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At the same time, many of the same politicians and their media allies are pushing for legislation to centralize and nationalize our local police departments and to give the federal government jurisdiction over many crimes that, under our constitutional system, have been matters for the states to handle. President Clinton's new Omnibus Crime bill and the alternate congressional proposals call for creating dozens of new categories of federal crimes, establishing a National Police Corps of 50,000 to 100,000 officers to "assist" local police, and new federal funds to aid financially strapped police departments.

We have been down this road before. The 1968 Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act created the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), which was finally abolished in 1981 after it had done so much damage to local law enforcement that police officials across the nation condemned it and refused to participate in its programs. The nature and intent of the agency were clear from the start. On March 3, 1971, Clarence Coster, associate administrator of the LEAA, in an address to Massachusetts police chiefs declared that American police must be centralized: "Today, in this country, we have 40,235 law enforcement agencies, ranging from one-man departments to New York City with more than 40,000 police officers. This many units form a completely ungovernable body."

Ungovernable? But local law enforcement officials knew they were governed by local governments representing local constituencies. They did not want to be governed by Washington or its regional surrogates, which was the unmistakable intent of LEAA's Coster. A disarmed populace and a centrally controlled police apparatus is the very prescription for a totalitarian police state.

Pincers Strategy

Is it possible that some of those who are advocating a disarmed populace and a centralized police system have totalitarian designs in mind? It is worth noting that this is exactly what happened in many countries during this century. They were victims of a strategy known as "revolutionary parliamentarianism." This strategy was first fully explained in a document entitled *How Parliament Can Play a Revolutionary Part in the Transition to Socialism, and the Role of the Popular Masses.* Written by Jan Kozak, a top theoretician of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, it presents the revolutionary blueprint used with enormous success by communist and socialist parties and their allies for subverting representative governments throughout the world. And in spite of everything we may have read about the "death of communism" in the past few years, this strategy appears to be still very much alive and operational.

According to the plan as outlined by Kozak, in order to subvert a representative government, "parliament must become a new instrument of socialist revolution," with the ultimate objective of "smashing capitalism and materialising a revolutionary transformation of society." (By "parliament" Kozak meant not only the legislative branch of government — which would correspond to our Congress — but the executive and judicial branches as well.)

Kozak's report explained how the Czech communists applied this diabolically brilliant strategy using "pressure from above and below" to trap the Czechoslovakians between two arms of the same conspiracy "like the claws of a pair of pincers." The communists in the streets and their dupes and allies organized "pressure from below" to provide their co-conspirators in the government with the excuses for applying "pressure from above" in order to further centralize power at the top.

This was not a completely new idea; Nero, the Gracchi, and other tyrants and would-be tyrants in ancient Rome made sophisticated use of *agents provocateurs* and Roman mobs to advance their political objectives. James Madison was commenting on this age-old phenomenon in 1795 when he warned against those who use "the old trick of turning every contingency into a resource for accumulating force in the government."

In the French Revolution, the wealthy and supremely ambitious Duc d'Orleans and his Illuminist-Jacobin cohorts (Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, Chamfort, et al.) developed the art of riot-making and terror-as-a-tool-to-power to an amazing degree. (Mirabeau cheerfully recounted that "with 100 louis [gold coins] one can make quite a good riot." "Money and the hope of plunder are all-powerful with the people," said Chamfort, "... and you would not believe how little it cost the Duc d'Orleans to get them to sack the manufactory of the honest Reveillon," a generous philanthropist). Hitler followed the same *modus operandi* in seizing power with his Brownshirts in Germany.

The communists, however, perfected it to a science. Kozak explained in detail just how this strategy had been put into practice in his country. In doing so, he showed the emphasis totalitarians always place on seizing control of both the police apparatus and the weapons, in order to obtain a monopoly of force. The proletariat, under the leadership of the communists, wrote Kozak, "armed itself" and together with "the units of the C.S. corps formed in the Soviet Union, became the nucleus of a new armed state apparatus, especially the security apparatus under the control of the Ministry of the Interior [the national secret police] which was in the hands of the Communists." Of course, like communist regimes everywhere, they made sure no one except the communists were armed.

An October 12, 1949 Associated Press dispatch from Prague, Czechoslovakia described the confiscation of firearms: "The Communist-led government, rounding up thousands of political suspects in a giant police operation, tonight ordered Czechs to surrender all privately owned firearms. Prague citizens formed long lines at police stations to surrender licensed guns. Some said they had been summoned urgently to report for a revision of their firearms licenses. When they appeared they learned a revision really meant a revocation and they had to leave their guns. The inference was that the government feared to leave guns in private hands. Even such relatively harmless weapons as air rifles were taken."

Engineered Crisis

Is a plan of "pressure from above and below" at work today in relation to our crime "crisis"? Exactly so. The flood of legislation, court decisions, and executive orders that has systematically ravaged our legal system over the past 40 years, making it almost impossible to convict and incarcerate or execute the most vicious and violent of criminals, did not come about accidentally. It has been the work of committed socialists just as dedicated as Kozak to "smashing capitalism and materialising a revolutionary transformation of society."

As with so many other attacks against our society and civilization, Harvard University was the wellspring of the revolution in American law. Robert

Pound was chief early proponent of "sociological theory of jurisprudence"

Owen, the "father of modern socialism," had made a great impression upon Harvard intellectuals in the 1830s and '40s. The second wave of British socialism came in the 1880s and '90s and the early 1900s with the leading lights of England's Fabian Socialist Society capturing Harvard and much of the rest of American academe by storm.

Beatrice and Sidney Webb, the first couple of British Fabianism, toured America to a royal welcome. At Harvard University, Columbia University, the University of Chicago, and other prestigious centers they conferred with their Fabian counterparts: Charles Zueblin, Oliver Wendell Holmes, E.R.A. Seligman, Albion W. Small, Lester F. Ward, Richard T. Ely, etc. These were the professors who wrote the textbooks and trained a generation of influential law professors, attorneys, legislators, journalists, and judges.

In April 1913, Fabian Socialists Harold Laski, John Dewey, Morris Cohen, and Roscoe Pound organized the Conference on Legal and Social Philosophy. Cohen's son later boasted that it is from this conference that "much of the social and philosophical consciousness of modern American jurisprudence derives." Unfortunately, Cohen's boast is all too accurate, and therein lies much of our current dilemma.

Consider, for instance, the influence of Harvard's Roscoe Pound, the chief exponent of "sociological jurisprudence" early in this century. According to the leftist *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, "Roscoe Pound has been the leader in this reorientation of the law, which he has called the sociological theory of jurisprudence." What Pound and his Fabian conspirators intended with this "reorientation" was actually the "socialization of law." Pound admitted this. However, he wrote that "if the term 'socialization of law' has alarming implications for any of you," and if it sounds "too suspiciously like dynamite and socialism ... it is possible to put the matter in wholly innocuous phrases and in terms of thoughts of the moment.... Let us think of the problem of the end of the law in terms of a great task or great series of tasks of social engineering."

Harvard's Felix Frankfurter later revealed the subversive intent in bringing Roscoe Pound to the Harvard Law School:

> [W]ith Pound there ... we could lug in a Trojan Horse of what [Judge Learned] Hand calls our "heretical thinking."... It is a great job that has to be done — to evolve a constructive jurisprudence going hand in hand with the pretty thoroughgoing overturning that we are in for.

The terms "socialization of law," "dynamite and socialism," "social engineering," "Trojan Horse," "heretical thinking," "thoroughgoing overturning" — all aptly describe the revolutionary social demolition perpetrated by these disguised Bolsheviki and their intellectual progeny in American institutions over the past half century. Frankfurter served on the U.S. Supreme Court and was followed there by others equally committed to "overturning" our system.

Bumper Crop of Crime

During the 1950s and '60s the judicial spade work and sowing was done that brought forth the bumper crime crop of the 1960s, '70s, and '80s. In *Mallory v. U.S., Mapp v. Ohio, Gideon v. Wainright, Escobedo v. Illinois, Malloy v. Hogan, Miranda v. Arizona*, and numerous other rulings the courts have made it possible for confessed rapists, child molesters, robbers, and murderers to get off scott free, time after time. No matter how vicious or monstrous the crime, a sociological alibi (racism, poverty, neglect, illiteracy, alcohol, drugs, low self-esteem, etc.) can be found to excuse the depravity.

Personal responsiblity is out — unless you're a cop, in which case you are held to super-human standards. If you're wearing blue and carrying a badge, no matter how hyper-scrupulous you are about crossing every "t" and dotting every "i," you are automatically presumed guilty of violating the "rights" of every thug you arrest.

As a result, since 1950 the "expected punishment" (i.e. prison sentence) for serious crimes has dropped by more than two-thirds. Over the same period, the total number of serious crimes committed has increased sevenfold. During the period of 1960-67, when many of the revolutionary court decisions and federal social engineering programs were being launched, the U.S. population rose by ten percent, but crime went up 89 percent. Although we have seen a leveling off of the crime spiral in the last couple of years, the crime rate is still three times higher than it was in 1960. We have never recovered from the '60s revolution — nor will we without confronting those revolutionists in our institutions perpetuating this continuing, and increasingly terrible, onslaught.

The engineers of this great debacle (or rather, their political and conspiratorial heirs — the Pound-Frankfurter disciples of today) are now proposing to "solve" our crime "crisis" by means that every American should recognize as dangerous and incredibly foul. Those who would completely socialize America know they must first disarm the citizens and replace local police with a federal gestapo. And they are using fear of rampant crime (pressure from below) which they have produced (pressure from above) to assist them in this "great task of social engineering." ■

In Their Own Words

The only way to discourage the gun culture is to remove the guns from the hands and shoulders of people who are not in the law enforcement business.
— *New York Times*, September 24, 1975

Gun violence won't be cured by one set of laws. It will require years of partial measures that will gradually tighten the requirements for gun ownership, and incrementally change expectations about the firepower that should be available to ordinary citizens.
— *New York Times*, December 21, 1993

By a curiosity of evolution, every human skull harbors a prehistoric vestige: a reptilian brain. This atavism, like a hand grenade cushioned in the more civilized surrounding cortex, is the dark hive where many of mankind's primitive impulses originate. To go partners with that throwback, Americans have carried out of their own history another curiosity that evolution forgot to discard as the country changed from a sparsely populated, underpoliced agrarian society to a modern industrial civilization. That vestige is the gun — most notoriously the handgun, an anachronistic tool still much in use.
— *Time*, April 13, 1981

The goal is an ultimate ban on all guns, but we also have to take a step at a time and go for limited access first.
— Joyner Sims, Florida State Health Department, deputy commissioner, *Chicago Tribune*, November 7, 1993

In Washington, James Brady — the shooting victim and former Reagan press secretary for whom the bill is named — joined gun control advocates in calling for "Brady II" — a bill that would add new gun licensing and registration requirements. And Attorney General Janet Reno, touring Boston's high-crime areas, said the Brady law "is the first step. Now we must move forward." Separately, federal officials ordered new restrictions and taxes on several "street-sweeper" style, rapid-fire shotguns.
— *USA Today*, March 1, 1994

Our goal is to not allow anybody to buy a handgun. In the meantime, we think there ought to be strict licensing and regulation.
— Michael K. Beard
Coalition to Stop Gun Violence
Washington Times, December 9, 1993

We are beyond the stage of restrictive licensing and uniform laws. We are at the point in time and terror when nothing short of a strong uniform policy of domestic disarmament will alleviate the danger which is crystal clear and perilously present. Let us take the guns away from the people. Exemptions should be limited to the military, the police and those licensed for good and sufficient reasons.
— Patrick V. Murphy, New York City Police Commissioner, December 7, 1970

We are now supporting the President's Bill which provides stringent restrictions on rifles and shotguns. We shall also get behind the Bill which provides for national registration and licensing if the states do not act within six months and a year respectively.

I personally believe handguns should be outlawed and provided the substance for such a bill to Senator Percy and Congressman Conyers about a week ago. Our organization will probably officially take this stand in time but we are not anxious to rouse opposition before we get the other legislation passed.
— Letter from J. Elliott Corbett, Secretary, National Council for a Responsible Firearms Policy, June 17, 1968

We are inclined to think that every firearm in the hands of anyone who is not a law enforcement officer constitutes an incitement to violence. Let's come to our senses before the whole country starts shooting itself up on all its Main Streets in a delirious kind of High Noon.
— *Washington Post*, August 19, 1965

My general counsel tells me that while firearms are exempted from our jurisdiction under the Consumer Product Safety Act, we could possibly ban bullets under the Hazardous Substances Act.
— Richard O. Simpson
Chairman, U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission, 1973

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Spiral of Fear

If ever you needed evidence of conscious, orchestrated agenda setting by the national media, you need look no further than the Great Crime Panic of 1993-94. It is a case *par excellence* of public manipulation by the media mavens to further a definite political objective — in this case, national gun control legislation and legislation to nationalize law enforcement and the administration of criminal justice.

In its January 25, 1994 cover story entitled "One cannot feel safe anyplace," *USA Today* reported: "A new *USA Today*/CNN/Gallup Poll shows fear of crime is the nation's top concern at 37%, up dramatically from 16% only five months ago." "That's the highest it's ever been and the first time it's been the top concern since Gallup began asking the question in the 1930s," said *USA Today* reporter Judy Keen. In the same article, Keen noted, "Concern about crime is rising even as the number of crimes reported to police is dropping."

Thomas R. Eddlem

A survey of the headlines in the major media would lead one to believe that our nation is in the grip of an escalating crime wave

Media Hype

Keen assures us that "fear of crime is not the product of media hype, of recent high-profile incidents." But that is precisely what it is the product of, and the paper for which Ms. Keen writes has been a leading producer of the hype that spawned the recent spiral of fear. Some of Keen's colleagues in crime are as much as admitting their role in setting off the stampede. The Big Three of the news mafia — the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Washington Post* — have each run articles in recent months noting the glaring disparity between reality and perception on the crime issue and the role played by the media in creating that disparity.

Richard Morin, director of policy for the *Washington Post*, in a column entitled "Press discovers crime, and public is terrified" noted, for instance, that observers of public opinion see the current surge in crime anxiety as the result of media spectacle, and then quotes Maxwell McCombs, professor of communication at the University of Texas, as comparing the recent crime fear to similar phenomena where "the high spike of public concern was very much driven by media concern." Morin noted that "the percentage naming crime as the most important problem rocketed from 5 percent last June to 21 percent in the November Post-ABC News poll, and similar spikes have been captured in other surveys," even though "the overall crime rate has been essentially flat."

On February 13, 1994, the *Los Angeles Times* weighed in with "A Nation With Terror on Its Mind," a front-page article that carried over onto, and filled, two inside pages. The article's subheading observed: "Much of the anxiety is fueled by the perception of spreading violence, not the statistics." The article reported that the *Times'* own poll found the number of Americans listing crime as the nation's most important problem increasing from 16 percent in January 1993 to 21 percent in June, and then shooting up to 41 percent by January 1994. There was no need for conjecture about what had caused the dramatic upward spike: 65 percent of the respondents plainly told the pollsters that their concern was based not on personal experience, but on reports they had read and seen in the media.

By the Numbers

Only media manipulation and exploitation can account for the tremendous upsurge in panic over crime in the past year. After three decades of "liberal" social experimentation, America's crime rate remains appallingly high — three times higher than it was in 1960 — but there has been no recent, dramatic upswing in crime; in fact, most indices show a slight downward crime trend.

In October of last year the FBI released its annual *Uniform Crime Report* showing that the total volume of crimes reported to law enforcement agencies declined three percent in 1992 compared to 1991. On December 5, 1993, the FBI released its report on crime for the first half of 1993. That report (which features the latest statistics available) showed a continuation of that downward trend. To be sure, there were both minor ups and downs. What the FBI calls "index violent crimes" (murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) showed both increases and decreases. The total number of murders (from 1991 to 1992) was down four percent and robberies were down two percent. The number of forcible rapes and aggravated assaults, however, showed increases of two and three percent respectively.

Compared to the same period in 1992, the first half of 1993 posted the following crime reductions: robbery, five percent; forcible rape, four percent; aggravated assault, one percent; burglary, eight percent; motor vehicle theft, five percent; larceny-theft, four percent. Of the major index crimes, murder alone showed no decrease, remaining stable at the 1992 level.

Headline Hysteria

A survey of the headlines and stories in the major print and electronic media over the past year, however, would lead one to believe that our nation is in the grip of a rapidly escalating crime wave. And according to Robert Lichter, co-director of the Center for Media and Public Affairs, which recently completed a study of crime and the media, the three network evening newscasts doubled their coverage of crime and violence around the country last year. "People's fear of crime doesn't come from looking over their shoulders," says Lichter, "it comes from looking at their television screens." The study also showed that the coverage of murder was three times as high in 1993 as in 1992, even though the murder rate remained virtually unchanged. The study did not include print media or local news programing, both of which contributed immensely to the crime panic.

Unmistakable in the media-generated crime hysteria is the overwhelming focus on guns as the cause of rampant violence and lawlessness in our society. This coincided, naturally, with the push for the Brady bill and a host of other attacks on the right to own firearms, along with the campaign to pass a federal crime bill that would nationalize much of our law enforcement and criminal justice system. The mind-managers of the Establishment media are playing the American public like a yo-yo. What they most assuredly do not want the public to know is that it is subversive court decisions and the radical social engineering legislation of the past three decades that must be undone if we are to solve our crime dilemma. They do not want you to listen to sane voices, such as that of Dr. Morgan Reynolds of Texas A&M University, who points out: "The reason we have so much crime is that, for many people, the benefits outweigh the costs. For some people, a criminal career is more attractive than their other career options."

Most people grasp this intuitively, but they have been led by "the experts" to believe that punishment "costs" must yield to more "enlightened" methods. Empirical evidence supports the common-sense view that crime will increase if the expected cost of crime to criminals diminishes.

Crime and Punishment

Unfortunately, the cost of crime in "expected punishment" has all but disappeared. Reynolds notes that "expected punishment is calculated by multiplying four *probabilities* — of being arrested for a crime after it is committed, of being prosecuted if arrested, of being convicted if prosecuted, and of going to prison if convicted — and then multiplying the product by the median time served for an offense." Applying this formula to burglaries, Reynolds demonstrates an appalling reality: "In the United States, about 7 percent of burglaries result in arrest. Of those arrested, 87 percent are prosecuted. Of those prosecuted, 79 percent are convicted. Of those convicted, 25 percent are sent to prison. After multiplying these probabilities, we see that a potential burglar has only a 1.2 percent probability of going to prison as a result of an act of burglary. Once in prison, a burglar will stay there about 13 months. But since more than 98 percent of burglaries never result in a prison sentence, the average sentence served for each act of burglary is only 4.8 days."

> ***"The reason we have so much crime is that, for many people, the benefits outweigh the costs. For some people, a criminal career is more attractive than their other career options."***

Using the same methodology, we see that even for committing murder, one can expect to spend only 2.3 years in prison. For rape, the expected punishment is 80.5 days, for robbery 27 days, for arson 12.5 days, for aggravated assault 13.2 days, for auto theft only 3.8 days. On average, a perpetrator of one of these serious crimes in the United States can expect to spend about eight days in prison. Which represents a reduction of about two-thirds since 1950, when the expected punishment for a serious crime was 24 days.

In 1949, the imprisonment risk for murder was about 50 percent but plummeted to 17 percent by 1983. Over the same period the imprisonment rate for rape dropped from 23 percent to 5.1 percent, for robbery it declined from 16 percent to 2.3 percent, and for auto theft from four percent to below 0.3 percent.

Penal "Resorts"

Of course, the drastic reductions in length of sentencing and probability of imprisonment were not the only changes to occur in our criminal justice system; the conditions of prison "punishment" also changed markedly over the past four decades. Today most of the prison population enjoy vastly improved food, larger cell space, expanded legal privileges, access to educational and occupational training programs, and such amenities as color television, extensive video and book libraries, the latest in recreational facilities, conjugal visits, weekend furloughs, prison leaves, etc. "Hard labor" is almost unheard of. Obviously, under these conditions, prison time for many offenders provides little disincentive to criminal behavior.

With expected punishment a pathetic joke, criminal behavior skyrocketed from the 1960s onward and only tapered off as "get tough" crime policies in many states and demographics began to take hold in the 1980s. As the judicial decisions and radical policies of the 1960s undermined law and order, and the liberal social agenda eroded civility, morality, religion, and respect for authority, the reported index crime soared from 3.4 million in 1960 to 14.4 million in 1990 — where it has hovered ever since, with minor fluctuations up and down.

Addressing this dilemma over three millennia ago, King Solomon noted (Ecclesiastes 8:11): "For because sentence is not speedily pronounced against the evil, the children of men commit evils without any fear." This wisest of men also observed (Ecclesiastes 1:15), "The perverse are hard to be corrected, and the number of fools is infinite." Truly spoken, and daily validated by the perverse and foolish statements emanating from the media, the White House, Congress, and academe. ■

— William F. Jasper

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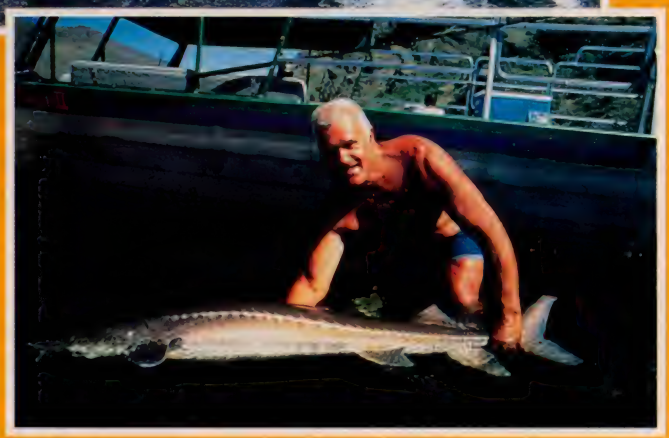

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Why Does Crime Pay?

UPI/Bettmann photo

Incarceration is the best way to stop criminals from repeating their offenses

Criminals know something most of the rest of us do not — that is, they know the facts and figures about punishment for crime. See how many of the following questions you can answer: How many felons per 100 serious crimes are arrested? Of these, how many are released due to "lack of evidence" or on "technicalities"? Of the remainder who are convicted, how many are imprisoned? Of these, how many serve their full sentences?

When the answers add up to a shocking 17 criminals imprisoned for every 1,000 major felonies — and serving a full sentence is almost unheard of — any criminal would logically conclude that the odds are on his side. Small wonder that most crimes are committed by career criminals who often have committed over 100 crimes before their first imprisonment.

Quiet Revolution

Yet none of this used to be so. Like all movements and ideas, the astounding transformation in our legal system's philosophy of crime and punishment had origins. While the media focused the public's attention on the sound and fury of student protests in the 1960s, a quiet revolution in our criminal justice system was initiated by the liberal intellectuals in the social sciences. Psychologists, philosophers, political scientists, legal scholars, sociologists, criminologists, and economists advanced irrational theories that became part and parcel of our modern legal system. Aided by judges, civil libertarians, legal aid lawyers, and inmate rights advocates, these luminaries of the left succeeded in selling the premise that the criminal is not responsible for his own behavior; therefore it logically follows that he must not be punished for what he can't help.

And what can't he help? The list is long. In fact, there hardly exists an area where the criminal is to be held accountable. Environmental, racial, ethnic, social, economic, genetic, psychological, physiological, and biochemical deficiencies are now held to drive criminals to their anti-social behaviors. Since all these forces or circumstances are outside the criminal's control, he should be forgiven or treated therapeutically — seldom punished. The idea that the purpose of the law is to apprehend and punish criminals for the protection of society has been replaced by an unquestioning faith in rehabilitation and reintegration back into the community. And crime has soared.

Perverted System

It could not be otherwise. The idea of the criminal as victim of uncontrollable forces has led unerringly to the perversion of our once-logical criminal justice system. Let us look at some of these inversions of traditional justice.

Bail. Although at the time of arrest a suspect may be released on bail or on his own recognizance, judges traditionally denied this privilege if the suspect had a criminal record or was held to be a danger to the community. But no longer. Today's judges have adopted a dangerous leniency, limiting those held to a tiny fraction, often with tragic results. As one of many such instances, Jerold Green of Philadelphia, despite convictions for two murders, two armed robberies, and an assault, was nevertheless released on bail, which enabled him to commit a third murder.

In fact, 35 percent of those with serious criminal records who are freed on bail either violate their release conditions, disappear, or are arrested for new crimes during the bail period.

Plea Bargaining. Of all the subversions of justice currently practiced by attorneys and judges, that of plea bargaining is the most reprehensible, since it benefits no one but the criminals themselves. *If* a criminal is arrested after a string of offenses, and *if* a prosecutor accepts the case, and *if* the evidence isn't thrown out on exclusionary grounds, then the criminal's next step is to "cop a plea."

Thousands of sentencing outrages occur daily, with 80 to 90 percent of all convictions stemming from pretrial guilty pleas to charges that have been drastically reduced through negotiations between prosecuting and defense attorneys — and then rubber-stamped by judges. By eliminating trials, these un-

conscionable maneuvers allow attorneys to handle large numbers of cases (and dollars) and help judges clear their court calendars. The criminal receives a sentence totally incommensurate with his actual crime. For instance, a rape charge may be reduced (without the victim's knowledge) to mere assault and battery. Multiple crimes such as breaking and entering, assault, and robbery may be reduced to a single charge of assault. Armed robbery may somehow turn out to be unarmed robbery. First offenders pleading guilty may "walk" on a suspended sentence.

Probation. Instead of imprisonment, persons found guilty of crimes may be released on probation, supposedly under periodic supervision. Probation is now commonplace for first offenders. Additional crimes committed during the probation period are legion; half of those on probation are convicted of another crime within three years, not including those arrested but not convicted.

Thousands of law-abiding citizens are subjected to robbery, assault, rape, and murder by criminals who have been released after serving only a portion of their sentence. The average citizen, already justly paranoid about crime, would be shocked to learn how many of these felons are walking our streets at any one time. In 1985, for example, 277,400 criminals were out on parole, while 1,870,100 were experiencing "reintegration" while on probation.

Both parole and probation spring from two repugnant ideas: first, that since crime is not the criminal's fault, he doesn't deserve punishment; and second, that of controlling prison inmates and suppressing prison violence by the promise of parole for "good behavior." Far from reducing recidivism as claimed, leniency has markedly increased it, a natural outcome of criminal contempt for "soft" law, while at the same time police have become demoralized.

Furloughs. Carrying paroles to new highs, every week thousands of society's most vicious robbers, rapists, and killers are released on unescorted prison leaves called "honor system" furloughs. In 1987 alone, more than 200,000 furloughs ranging up to seven months were granted to more than 53,000 inmates. In many states furloughs are granted even to murderers serving "life" sentences. Although furloughs have led to chronic escapes and grisly crimes including multiple murders, furloughs are still used as a management tool for inmate behavior. After all, as one prison authority explained, taking away the pos-

The Warren Court: Nir

During the 1960s, the John Birch Society launched a major offensive against the appalling, pro-crime opinions being handed down by the Supreme Court. Calls to impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren sprang up from billboards to lapel buttons all across the country. But Congress, acutely aware that Chief Justice Warren was an untouchable ally of the Insider power elite, pretended not to notice.

A pity. For Warren led a revolution that undermined the very law and order the justices had sworn to uphold. Case by case, the Warren Court built a protective wall around criminals which has severely hampered our law enforcement agencies and put the criminals back on the streets. Thousands of innocent victims have paid a monstrous price for this wretched betrayal. One such "statistic" was the young mother who was brutally raped by a man who had been set free by the Warren Court on appeal after having been convicted of a previous rape. This man's name was Andrew Mallory.

Warren Court rulings undermined law and order in U.S.

Suppressing and Excluding Evidence

The 1956 *Mallory* decision, unanimously approved by the Warren Court, invented a unique interpretation of "unnecessary delay" between arrest and the bringing of formal charges. Mallory's constitutionally protected rights, said the Court, had been violated in his arrest for the first rape because he had been detained ten hours before being arraigned. Since Mallory had confessed within that time period, the Court declared it illegal to use his confession against him. Without the confession, there was no other way to prove Mallory's guilt, since he had worn a mask. Mallory was set free to rape again. The *Mallory* decision shattered the basic concept that the first function and duty of courts is to establish guilt or innocence. Since evidence is the only way to do this, it follows that any deliberate concealment of evidence is contrary to the interests of justice.

But *Mallory* was only the beginning of the absurd lengths to which the Warren Court was to go in its incredible drive to suppress conclusive evidence. Next came the exclusion of the use of certain material evidence, even though it proved guilt. Various specious excuses were used to throw out evidence, such as evidence obtained "without probable cause" or through "unreasonable search and seizure."

For instance, in Washington, DC a young woman became the victim of a pick-pocket. When she cried out for help, an off-duty policeman overtook the fleeing thief and recovered the woman's wallet. Despite the fact that the stolen wallet was found in the suspect's possession, the case was dismissed on the grounds that the policeman did not have "probable cause" to believe that the man running away from the screaming victim was the thief.

sibility of parole or furlough would make it "difficult dealing with inmates who have nothing to lose."

Work Release. This is the supposedly supervised release of inmates to work at jobs in the community, responsible for a huge share of all prison escapes. Of those who "graduate" from work programs, about half are rearrested within six months, about the same rate as those who are simply released. This is hardly surprising, for work programs and vocational training are based on the disproven idea that unemployment causes crime. Liberals ignore the fact that during the Great Depression, with its unprecedented unemployment, there was no crime wave, or even a crime increase. The truth is really the opposite: Criminals typically are anti-work, and the criminal mentality naturally results in unemployment and poverty.

"Acceptable Losses"

At the core of defenses of parole, furlough, and other dangerous release programs is the morally appalling idea that occasional innocent victims are "acceptable losses." In this view of things, it is illogical to keep hundreds of people in jail just to save two or three innocent victims. The reintegration premise requires victims to be expendable, mere faceless statistics, which is why our system is swamped with criminal rights but devoid of victim rights.

The liberals' pernicious grip on our criminal justice system must be jettisoned — hook, line, and sinker. It is their contempt for one of the basic tenets of Western civilization — that the individual is responsible for his own behavior — that has led to our present distress.

Criminals become criminals through the exercise of their own free will. Until our criminal justice system returns to this fundamental concept, it is axiomatic that the crime rate will remain at an appallingly high level. Before our own time, societies throughout history have known how to protect themselves from criminals by linking crime and punishment. All societies, including our own, have known that incarceration works by serving the twin goals of retribution and deterrence.

Far from shedding crocodile tears for inmates because imprisonment "interrupts their life cycle," all societies have held that this is the precise purpose of imprisonment. If one does not wish his life cycle to be interrupted, let him commit no crime. ■

— JANE H. INGRAHAM

Men Against America

This exclusionary rule of evidence not only safeguards professional criminals, but allows criminals to sue the police if they overstep the technicalities of this devastating rule. Error is always possible, but should be treated like any other violation in a separate hearing, not used as a phony excuse to disallow evidence. In fact, an absolute prohibition against concealing evidence has long been a cardinal rule in all mature legal systems.

The Great Prison Break

But the Warren Court was just getting into high gear. Next came the matter of providing a defense attorney at taxpayer expense for those who claim they cannot afford one. Here again the Court nit-picked at details it must have taken an evil genius to think of. In *Moore v. Michigan*, Moore committed first-degree murder preceded by rape and indescribable brutality. At the time of his arrest he readily confessed and rejected the offer of an attorney because he had nothing to say except that he was guilty. Moore was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Twelve years later Moore sought a new trial on the basis that he had not been represented by counsel (one wonders how he thought of this). Although Moore was turned down by the Michigan Supreme Court, the Warren Court reversed this decision on the basis that a defense counsel would have required the state to prove its case, which might have led to a different verdict — and this in the face of Moore's repeated confession!

This precedent was great news to thousands of convicts, for it completely disregarded the question of guilt. Thousands of convicted murderers, rapists, and thieves demanded a retrial or release simply because they had had no lawyer at their trial. Since it is next to impossible for a prosecutor to rebuild a case long after records and witnesses have disappeared, the "great prison break" was on — thousands walked away as free men.

The Warren Court came up with still another angle to expand criminal protection through the counsel rule. A seaman was indicted for smuggling illegal drugs into the country. He had a defense attorney and was released on bail. Then the police planted a hidden microphone in his car and recorded the suspect admitting his guilt. His conviction was reversed by the Warren Court because the statements were made in the absence of the defense attorney, thus violating the seaman's constitutionally protected rights. Again the matter of guilt was ignored.

Miranda Madness

With great ingenuity the Court soon found another way — the *Miranda* decision — to protect criminals by ruling that voluntary confession is inadmissible if the police fail to warn the accused that his confession might be used against him (did anyone ever think otherwise?) or if the police failed to allow him to see a lawyer before answering any question whatsoever. The immediate result of this ludicrous ruling was to swing open the prison gates yet again; its long-term result is that valid confessions are now routinely excluded because police fail to properly recite a litany of warnings and reminders at the proper moment.

Today, 30-odd years later, with crime running rampant and frightened Americans holed up behind alarm systems in homes, offices, and cars, the cry has gone up for the government to "do something." The Clinton White House and the ultra-liberal Congress are only too happy to oblige. The problem, they say, is guns — guns in the hands of the public. We must take them away. We must put 100,000 national police on our streets. These measures, they promise, will stop crime.

Thus, the Insiders are reaching their long-term goals through the skillful help of nine men against America. ■

— JANE H. INGRAHAM

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Subverting the Bill of Rights

If any single organization can be said to have made it possible for crime to explode and impossible for the rest of us to do anything about it, that organization is the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Although the ACLU insists that its mission is to ensure all Americans "equal protection under the Bill of Rights," this is a mirthless joke, for the ACLU is nothing but a radical-left political organization with an agenda that amounts to criminalizing America, thereby endangering the liberties of everyone.

Founded in 1920 by Roger Baldwin, a Harvard sociologist who belonged to over 200 communist fronts, one of the ACLU's priorities has been to sell the idea that crime is caused by external factors; hence, criminals are not responsible for their own acts and should not be punished. The raft of "constitutional rights" for criminals discovered by the ACLU has tied the hands of the police, eliminated much imprisonment, and put convicted felons back on the streets.

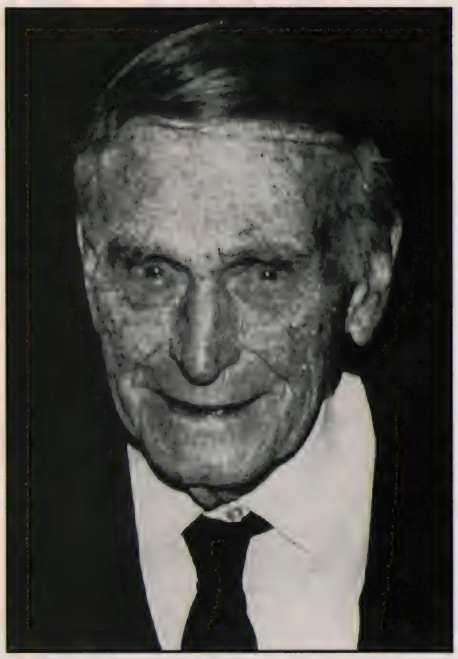
Killing Capital Punishment

In the ACLU view, there is no crime horrible enough to justify the death penalty, which it defines as a denial of civil liberties and a form of discrimination against the lower classes. The ACLU's program to reverse all convictions carrying the death penalty has resulted in a typical case taking up to ten years and being heard by as many as 40 state and federal judges. There are now 2,785 convicted murderers on death row (with only 38 executed in 1993) tying up our nation's courts and tax dollars in endless ACLU appeals.

The "rights" of hard-core pornographers, too, must be protected, in spite of the proven connection between rape and pornographic addiction. The ACLU has long been the foremost defender of child pornography, although this is the most vile kind of child abuse possible. These "rights," says the ACLU, are a form of free speech protected by the First Amendment.

Also deserving of protection is a child's "right to privacy" in not having school officials use metal detectors to locate guns or search his locker for weapons or drugs. Or if detectors are used, a day's warning must be given. Or if lockers are searched, a search warrant must be obtained plus parental and student permission.

Apparently the ACLU doesn't think the Second Amendment counts, for it has long advocated the stiffest federal gun controls possible. Like a national police force, a disarmed citizenry is a basic requirement for a totalitarian police state.



ACLU founder Baldwin belonged to hundreds of communist fronts

A major portion of the ACLU's defense efforts has been on behalf of the "right" of communists, revolutionaries, and terrorists to advocate or use force and violence to overthrow the government. The ACLU's own attorneys claimed that investigating subversive groups and keeping police dossiers on them violated their "right to privacy" and put a "chill" on their rights of free speech and assemblage. Incredibly, this drive led to the abolition of almost all federal security committees and boards as well as the destruction of state police dossiers on subversive groups nationwide.

Although the ACLU has traditionally opposed double jeopardy in criminal trials as part of its protective wall built around criminals, in the Rodney King case it lost no time in reversing its position in order to allow the federal prosecution of four Los Angeles police officers who had already been acquitted by the state.

Vehicle Behind Crime Wave

The ACLU wants to legalize prostitution, all drugs no matter how damaging, mercy killings, draft dodging, and the burning of privately owned flags as "protected speech." It also supports dozens of other measures that would decriminalize most crimes. Although widely portrayed by its friends in the media as an uncompromising defender of our cherished freedoms, the ACLU has in fact been working to subvert our laws and public policies by judicial decision, totally outside the constitutional legislative process. Arguing about 6,000 cases each year, the ACLU is the litigating vehicle behind the explosion of crime in America.

Even in this limited review of ACLU activities, one is struck with an essential fact: In spite of the outrageous effrontery and preposterous distortions of ACLU positions, almost all the cases it argues are decided in its favor. In fact, ACLU positions are pretty much what we now have in regard to criminals, including civilian review boards, which have severely damaged effective local law enforcement. We are told that the ACLU, although investigated several times for subversive activities, even works with Congress on the wording of civil rights bills.

Whence comes such formidable power? Tracing ACLU funding to its source gives us the answer. The ACLU is very well-heeled, operating with about a $15 million annual budget for headquarters and an additional $10 million for its affiliates in all 50 states. The source of this money (besides the Playboy Foundation, in thanks for pushing porn) has included the Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Ford Foundations.

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— Jane H. Ingraham

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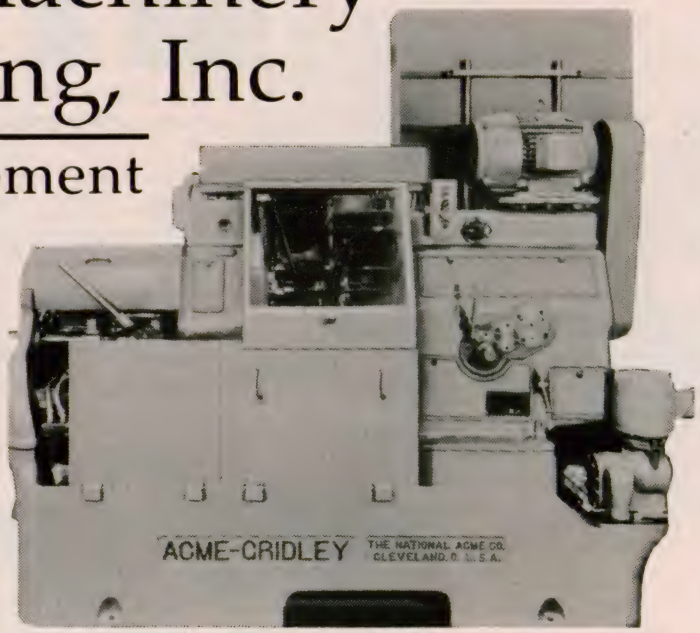

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The Death Penalty Dilemma

On February 24th of this year, two masked men walked into the bodega which Andre Gonzalez operated in a poor section of Manhattan. They demanded money, and when Gonzalez resisted one of the robbers killed him with a shotgun blast to the chest. The robber in turn was killed by Gonzalez's son with a licensed .38-calibre pistol kept in the store for protection. The other robber fled.

Gonzalez's fate is not unusual in New York City. What is unusual is the true justice achieved by the son's justified killing of his father's murderer. If the murderer's confederate is caught and convicted, however, he will not pay with his life, thanks to Governor Mario Cuomo's repeated rejection of efforts to restore capital punishment in that state.

AP/Wide World photo

Imposition of the death penalty provides a means for restoring respect for innocent life

Pace of Executions

The pace of executions in this country has fluctuated in recent decades, mostly in response to shifting rulings by the Supreme Court. During the 1950s, executions averaged about 50 a year, but they slowed in the late 1950s and came to a stop so that no executions occurred between 1967 and 1977. Executions resumed sporadically and since 1984 have averaged roughly 20 a year.

Thirty-six states now authorize the death penalty, typically for murder. Federal law provides for the death penalty in various cases within federal jurisdiction, including: first-degree murder; murder while a member of the armed forces; retaliatory murder of a member of the immediate family of law enforcement officials; murder of a member of Congress, an important executive official, or a Supreme Court justice; destruction of aircraft, motor vehicles, or related facilities resulting in death; destruction of government property resulting in death; mailing of injurious articles with the intent to kill or resulting in death; assassination or kidnaping resulting in the death of the President or Vice President; willful wrecking of a train resulting in death; bank robbery-related murder or kidnaping; treason; murder of federal judges and officers; espionage; death resulting from aircraft hijacking; and witness tampering where death results. In 1988, Congress also authorized the death penalty for certain drug offenses, but no one has yet been executed under those provisions. Various proposals introduced in Congress in 1993 would extend the death penalty to almost 50 additional crimes where death results, including murders committed by prisoners in federal correctional institutions, drive-by shootings, and kidnapings which result in the death of any person.

The framers of the Constitution clearly did not intend to outlaw the death penalty on either the state or federal level. The Bill of Rights, which originally applied only to the federal government until its provisions were erroneously applied to the states in this century, explicitly validated that penalty in its Fifth Amendment provisions that "no person shall be held to answer for a *capital* or other infamous crime" except by action of a grand jury, and that "no person shall be deprived of *life*, liberty, or property, without due process of law" (emphasis added).

However, the prospect of expanded federal capital crimes ought to give pause to those who generally favor the death penalty. The Constitution gives the federal government no general criminal jurisdiction. In recent decades, unfortunately, federal law has intruded into large areas of state responsibility through expansive interpretations of congressional power to regulate interstate commerce and to oversee the activities of recipients of federal subsidies. Expansion of federal capital crimes would compound this abuse.

Saving Innocent Life

In light of the increased public support for the death penalty, at state and federal levels, it is useful to consider some basic justifications for that penalty. "It is incontrovertible," as Bernard Lande Cohen put it more than two decades ago, "that a killer who has been executed is forever inhibited from doing it again." But does the death penalty deter other would-be murderers? Significant statistical evidence would appear to support the firm conclusion of common sense and experience that the death penalty probably deters at least some premeditated homicides. Since it probably does deter, the death penalty probably saves the innocent lives of potential future victims who would be killed but for the deterrent effect of that penalty.

Nor is it unjust to execute a murderer. When the would-be murderer comes at his victim, the victim can rightfully kill him if necessary to save his own life since the murderer by his aggression has forfeited his right to life. Having for-

feited his right to live for purposes of immediate self-defense, it is not unreasonable for the murderer to be held to forfeit his life to save the lives of future victims of other would-be murderers.

St. Thomas Aquinas argued that the common good requires that some men be removed from the community by execution:

> [T]he life of certain pestiferous men is an impediment to the common good which is the concord of human society.... Therefore, certain men must be removed by death from the society of men.... Therefore, the ruler of a state executes pestiferous men justly and sinlessly in order that the peace of the state may not be disrupted.

God's Authority

Another justification for capital punishment is retribution, which some opponents of capital punishment confuse with vengeance. As a sound principle of natural law and common sense, the punishment should fit the crime. If someone had been convicted of the assassination of President Kennedy and the judge had sentenced him only to five years in prison, the nation would have been properly outraged. For such a crime, as for the murder of Andre Gonzalez, only the death penalty would serve to correct the balance of justice. Retribution involves the rightful use of that penalty to restore that balance and thereby to promote the common good. Murder should be stigmatized as the crime of crimes. To punish it by imprisonment — a penalty qualitatively no different from that inflicted for embezzlement — is to devalue innocent life. Seen in this light, the death penalty promotes respect for innocent life.

The state's moral authority to impose the death penalty, as with the moral authority to kill in a just war, ultimately rests on the fact that the state derives its authority from God who is the Lord of life. However, one can legitimately argue on prudential grounds that the death penalty ought not to be imposed in a particular society at a particular time. Perhaps the most telling prudential argument is that delays and excessive technicalities introduced into the criminal justice system by Supreme Court rulings have caused the death penalty to be a poor man's punishment inflicted on those, often members of racial minorities, who lack the means to engage highly competent attorneys at the trial state of the proceedings. Ultimately, the solution to this problem is to restore a greater measure of realism to the criminal process so that the issue of guilt or innocence will not be obscured. Too often, criminal trials bear out the truth of Justice Benjamin Cardozo's observation that "the criminal is to go free because the constable has blundered."

Jed White

Liberals oppose the executions of murderers and approve the murders of innocent preborn children

Opponents also argue that the death penalty involves the risk of the mistaken execution of an innocent person. A 1985 study claimed that 343 people had been wrongly convicted of capital offenses in the United States during the 20th century. Twenty-five of these were actually executed, including cases in which innocence is debatable, such as Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Bruno R. Hauptwarus (the convicted kidnapper of the Lindbergh baby), and Soviet spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

The risk of erroneous conviction is inherent in any criminal case. The irrevocability of the death penalty casts a heavier burden of justification on its supporters. And it argues for enhanced procedural safeguards in capital cases.

However, it is unsound to argue categorically that the risk of convicting the innocent should automatically rule out the death penalty. The abolition of that penalty puts at risk the lives of other prison inmates who might be murdered by prisoners who otherwise would have been executed. Abolition of the death penalty would also put at risk innocent members of the general populace who might be murdered by persons who should have been executed or by murderers who would have been deterred by the prospect of the death penalty.

A Right to Life Issue

Capital punishment is obviously a "right to life" issue. But it is often oversimplified. One could legitimately argue against both abortion and, on prudential grounds, capital punishment. But the two cases are not the same since the unborn child is innocent and the convicted murderer is not. One could therefore also legitimately argue against abortion and in favor of capital punishment. The liberal position today, however, is to oppose the killing of convicted criminals but to approve the killing of innocent children in the womb. It is a symptom of debased humanism to protest a murderer's deserved punishment while acquiescing in the killing of innocent children through abortion.

All human life is precious because we are all created in the image and likeness of God. But God also gave us free wills and made us by nature social beings with the inclination to live in community and with the moral duty to act in accord with the common good of that community. It is fair to say that one pressing need of the human community, in the United States as elsewhere, is to restore respect for innocent life and to protect innocent members of the community against aggressors, whether abortionists or more conventional killers.

In this context, the imposition of capital punishment can be seen as a means to restore respect for innocent life. The prudent use of the death penalty can emphasize, as no other penalty can, that malefactors are responsible for their own actions and that the deliberate, willful taking of innocent life is the most abhorrent of all crimes precisely because the right to life is the most precious of all rights. ■

— Charles E. Rice

Dr. Rice is a professor at Notre Dame Law School.

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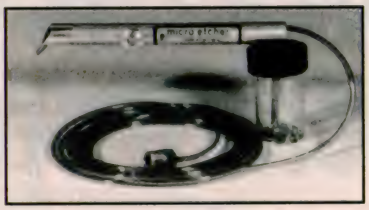

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America's New "Urban Leaders"

On February 9th, the White House conducted a conference call with the mayors of four major American cities. During that meeting Chicago Mayor Richard Daley offered President Clinton thanks for "strong leadership in taking back our streets and protecting our children from gangs and drugs." Mayor Daley should have asked the President why he had seen fit to meet with Chicago gangster Wallace "Gator" Bradley.

Urban Summits

Bradley, a 42-year-old ex-convict who serves as "war counselor and enforcer" for "King" Larry Hoover, the leader of the murderous Gangster Disciples, was among the "urban leaders" who met with President Clinton just prior to this January's State of the Union Address. Bradley earned his access to the President by working as a major organizer of the October 1993 "Gang Summit" in Chicago, which drew representatives from black street gangs across the country. Speaking at the "summit," Jesse Jackson declared that "this is the new frontier of the civil rights struggle.... This ain't no gang meeting. It's an urban policy meeting." President Clinton placed his imprimatur upon the event by sending a personal message to the gangsters, which was read in a closed session.

The Chicago gang meeting was the largest of several such "summits" that took place last year. Last April's "National Urban Peace and Justice Summit" in Kansas City assembled 120 current and former members of such gangs as the Crips, the Bloods, the Urban Vice Lords, and the Gangster Disciples, who bemoaned their "economic, political and social exclusion" from law-abiding society. Their complaints found a ready audience with those responsible for *USA Today*'s editorial page, who opined that "if gangs are to hold on to their vow of giving peace a chance, cities must be able to provide resources to instill hope and decrease frustration." In other words, the law-abiding must submit to extortion in order to help the extortionists develop self-esteem.

Like foreign nations that stand in queue for American foreign aid, gangsters have found that "peacemaking" can be profitable. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has awarded a $2.5 million "violence prevention" grant to the Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority in Ohio. The grant was a reward for CMHA's role in organizing last fall's "Stop the Violence, Peace in the 'Hood" gang summit.

Tony Stone Images

Gang members cruise the "hood": Urban thugs are getting aid and power from federal government

Some communities have even delegated law enforcement duties to gangsters. An urban initiative in Minneapolis brought social service workers, police, and gang members together in a "peacekeeping" coalition; this arrangement did not prevent the death of a police officer at the hands of a gang "ally."

The Minnesota program is not unique. The December 14, 1993 *Washington Times* reported, "As part of Operation Reconstruction, a fledgling campaign to curb street violence, business leaders [in Denver] are outfitting some of the city's toughest gang members with free cellular phones, jobs, and cash. In exchange, the gang members are expected to patrol their neighborhoods." The program's board of directors include such pillars of the community as "Crip" Michael Darren Ashberry, who recently threatened to shoot the local police and kill their families, and "Blood" member Eric David James, whose criminal record includes burglary and aggravated motor vehicle theft.

Most Favored Gangs

In a story reflecting upon the anniversary of the Los Angeles riots, the April 19, 1993 *Los Angeles Times* reported, "A year ago, Bloods and Crips emerged from the ashes with their red and blue bandannas tied in unity. The summer months were marked by jubilant peace gatherings at the housing projects in Watts...." In response to the Blood/Crip truce, "a few peacemakers were rewarded for their efforts with government grants for grassroots organizing [and] most had hoped that in exchange for laying down their guns, they would get jobs, day-care centers, and recreation programs...." When no further emoluments were forthcoming, the gangsters again began to ventilate threats of armed violence and terrorism.

Although the Crips and Bloods may not yet be on the federal government's list of most favored gangs, the federal government has dispensed money upon urban gangsters-cum-"peacemakers." In 1966, a Chicago "gang truce" was negotiated between the Blackstone Rangers and the Eastside Disciples. The "peacemakers" were rewarded with a $972,000 federal grant for "job training" programs. Not surprisingly, most of the federal money ended up in the hands of gang leaders, helping the Rangers evolve into an even more ruthless syndicate called El Rukn.

During the French Revolution, the murderous *Sans-Culotte* mobs were organized and controlled by conspiring elites; the mob violence prompted the manipulable masses into seeking authoritarian controls from the revolutionary government. Hitler used the Brownshirts in much the same fashion. One preferred tactic of communist governments was to place criminals in law enforcement positions. The names of the players may change, but the conspiratorial playbook remains the same. ■

— William Norman Grigg

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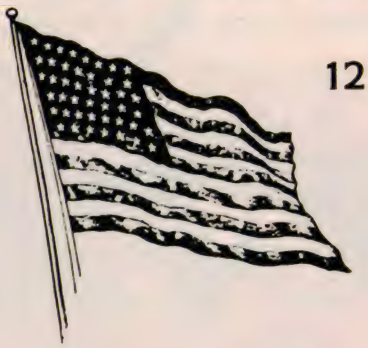

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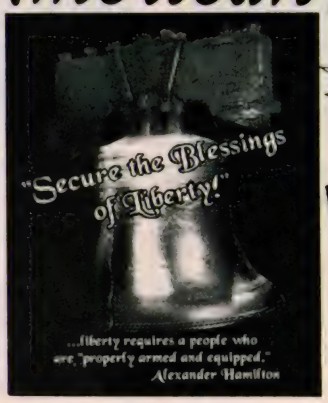

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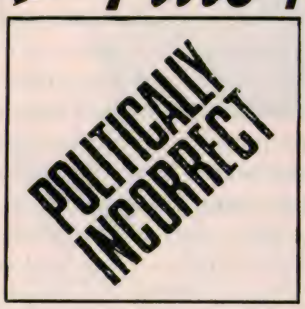

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The Importation of Crime

Late last year *Business Week* blared on its cover the fact that rampant crime is bleeding the U.S. of some $425 billion a year in direct and indirect costs, then committed its own offenses by recommending a host of costly progressive "solutions" such as conflict resolution programs in schools, a larger Jobs Corps, more expensive drug rehabilitation, remedial education, buying back illegal handguns, and imposing more federal gun controls — seemingly any notion at which to throw tax dollars.

But not a single word in that lengthy article even mentioned the huge social cost, including criminal behavior, of immigrants in general and illegal aliens in particular. In fact, immigrants — mostly illegal ones — make up fully a quarter of the federal prison population, according to the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. An estimated 452,000 non-citizens could be deported for their crimes, concluded a recent investigation led by Senator William Roth (R-DE).

We've come a long way — down, we would contend — from the days when President George Washington observed: "My opinion with respect to immigration is that, except for mechanics and particular description of men and professions, there is no use in its encouragement."

Our current President, on the other hand, oversees the bureaucracy that earlier this year was handing out checks for thousands of dollars each to illegal aliens so they would remain in the U.S. in violation of the law. Through the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), monies were being paid for far more than emergencies after the earthquake in California. Without even attempting to check their status, bureaucrats gave illegal aliens funds for so-called crisis counseling, temporary housing, and rebuilding costs, among other uses. As Debra Saunders commented in the *San Francisco Chronicle*: "It rankles when federal agencies operate outside federal law. If FEMA doesn't take U.S. immigration seriously, why should people who want to immigrate here honor those laws? If America is going to pay people to break immigration law, why even have an Immigration and Naturalization Service?"

For every illegal apprehended, two or three get through

Costs of Immigration

Governmental altruism is becoming the nation's undoing, with the U.S. accepting more immigrants than the rest of the world put together. Consider some of the formidable numbers. For example, an estimated 19.3 million immigrants — both legal and illegal — settled in the U.S. between 1970 and 1992. According to a study by Dr. Donald Huddle of Rice University, those immigrants generated total net costs in public assistance of $42.5 billion more than their tax payments. This includes the displacement costs of Americans unemployed because of the immigration.

Dr. Huddle, in his study updated in July 1993, broke down that total into three categories, with the following net cost figures: legal immigrants, $25.6 billion; illegal aliens, $11.9 billion; and amnesty aliens (who were made legal by a provision in the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act and by more amnesties in 1990 legislation), $5 billion.

In California alone, according to Governor Pete Wilson, during the past four years enough illegals have crossed its border to fill a city the size of Oakland. The number of children of illegals on California's welfare rolls has more than quadrupled since 1988. And the feds are adding to the burden, requiring California (and other states) to provide health care, public education, and other benefits to those illegals who are breaking the law.

Dr. Huddle's November 1993 study of just California's immigration problems indicates that the 1992 net cost (including assistance and displacement) of immigrants, legal and illegal, was $18.1 billion — or $767 per Californian. During the next decade, his analysis shows, 7.4 million settled immigrants will be joined by another 4.3 million projected immigrants, costing taxpayers in California a total of $265.7 billion, or an average of $26.6 billion annually.

Criminal Aliens

As long ago as 1987, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) statistics revealed that almost 20 percent of total arrests in six major U.S. cities (Chicago, Denver, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, and New York) were of foreign nationals. In Los Angeles County alone, deportable aliens make up a full 11 percent of the jail population.

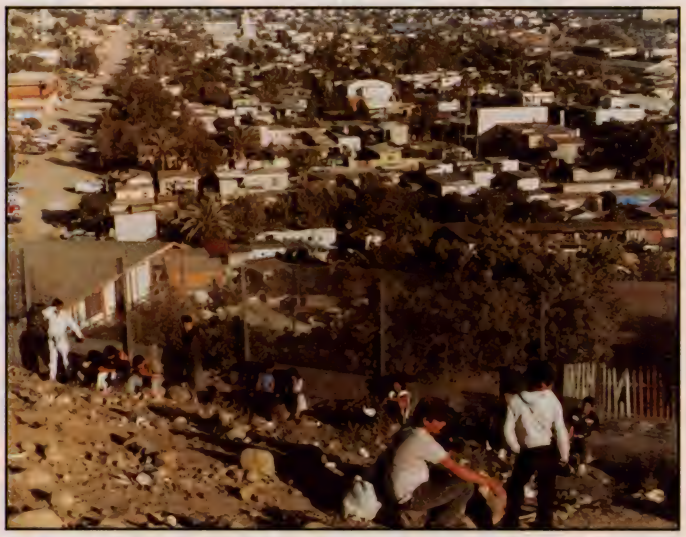
Representative Lamar Smith (R-TX) notes that not only is a large chunk of federal prison space given over to aliens, but seven of eight criminal aliens "are either released or given probation and never serve time in prison." Three-quarters of the criminal aliens on probation or parole will commit additional crimes. In Texas, according to Smith, criminal aliens account for 42 percent of all federal prisoners; each prisoner costs an average of $37,000 annually for processing and incarcerating, a figure that does not include the cost of police investigative work.

Criminal aliens often are used in nar-

cotics trafficking. Ominously, State Department statistics show that Mexico in recent years is producing one-third of the heroin and 70 percent of the marijuana imported into the U.S.; in addition, "over half of the cocaine which entered the U.S. in 1990 transited Mexico."

Mexicans are certainly not the only aliens involved in criminal activity. John Tanton and Wayne Lutton, in their book *The Winds of Change: A New Look at U.S. Immigration Policy*, describe other groups, including Chinese Triads, Japanese Yakuza, Jamaican posses, and Colombians dealing in cocaine. Comments David Leroy, chief of domestic intelligence for the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency, "Ethnic gangs appear to be the new trend in crime."

Whether it was in last year's World Trade Center bombing or more recent terrorist acts, the porous borders take their toll. Perhaps 20 million people, for example, will come into the U.S. on tourist visas this year, but an estimated 500,000 of that number will "remain here illegally, obtaining false social security cards, work permits, driver's licenses, credit cards and other papers," according to counterintelligence and terrorist expert Lieutenant Colonel Oscar Rechtschaffen in *Officer Review*. "Alien criminals and terrorists encounter no difficulty buying weapons and explosives in large quantities," he notes.



America's southern border remains largely unenforced

Reform: Meek or Firm?

Almost half of all illegal immigrants come through a 14-mile corridor south of San Diego, yet during 1992 there were less than 200 Border Patrolmen deployed there. While California's knees buckled under the burden, Washington yawned and told the state to provide the illegals with more benefits. Radio commentator Paul Harvey pointed out in November 1992 that there were more patrolmen on Capitol Hill than at any one time on America's entire 2,000-mile southern border.

But now, we are told, there will be a crackdown by the Reno Justice Department. This plan will include adding 1,010 agents to the front lines between San Diego and Brownsville, Texas, though it will really only mean hiring 500 new personnel to the (current 3,461-agent) Border Patrol and transferring another 510 from desk jobs. This is supposed to occur rapidly — by the end of 1995. This, after all, is a top priority for Attorney General Reno!

Representative Duncan Hunter (R-CA), while praising the limited action, suggests that 10,000 more agents are needed on the border with Mexico. Yet, even the Clintonista mini-plan has drawn fire from Mexico City. The Mexican Foreign Ministry calls the Clinton proposal for border guards "worrisome," and adds that "police actions are not appropriate for stopping a socioeconomic phenomenon, such as the flow of immigrants between Mexico and the United States." Mexico, on the other hand, has strict policies against immigrants to its country.

Hold the Line

Actually, there is something that has worked against illegal immigration in El Paso, Texas. (Some 65 percent of the arrests of "undocumented immigrants" occur near San Diego and El Paso, according to INS Commissioner Doris Meissner.) Last September, the El Paso Border Patrol, headed by Silvestre Reyes, set up Operation Blockade, since renamed Operation Hold the Line. It was established not for apprehending aliens over the border but for stopping illegal immigrants before they enter.

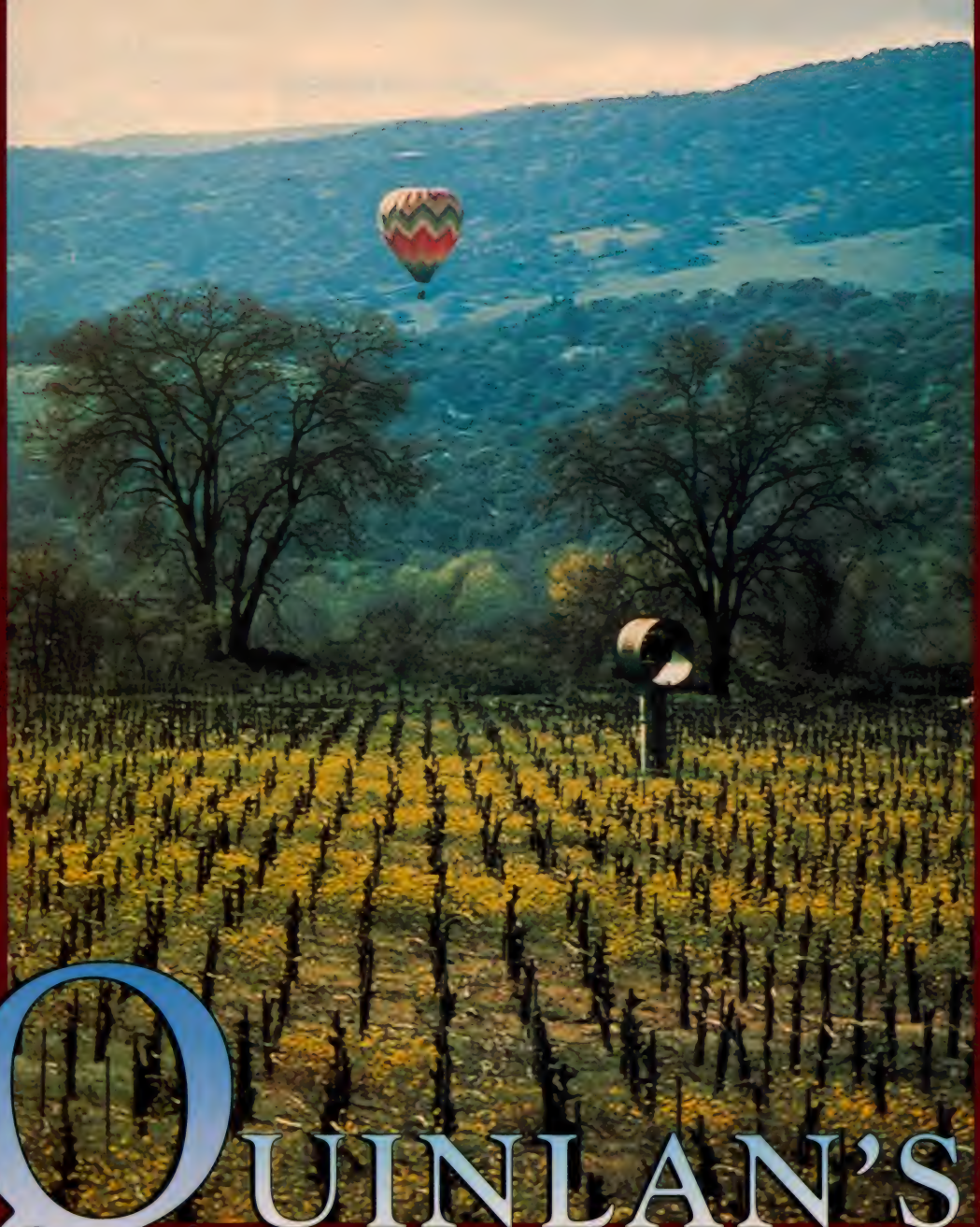
The operation mans the border around the clock, has proven a remarkable success, and (according to polls) is favored by virtually everyone living in El Paso (which has a large Mexican-American population). Describing the operation in *Human Events* for February 11th, Daniel James noted that the Reyes plan not only cut illegal crossings to "near zero," but also "reduced crime in El Paso, giving its citizens a degree of personal safety they had not enjoyed in years. 'Gangs have escalated along the border and involved their members in crime and drugs,' [Reyes] had reported earlier. 'Illegal aliens are members of gangs on both sides and have become part of the problem the citizens of El Paso face daily.'"

James notes that "auto thefts, a local speciality because stolen American cars find a big market just across the border, dropped nearly in half within 10 days of Operation Hold the Line. Southern Pacific Railroad reports that cargo theft has fallen 98%." Mayor Larry Francis told the *El Paso Times* that he walked through downtown, and all "the underworld was gone. Particularly the pickpockets and transvestites."

Replicating the El Paso results is one of the goals of legislation being sponsored by Senator Harry Reid (D-NV), James writes. Reid's legislation, called the Immigration Stabilization Act, would double the number of Border Patrol officers, allowing other regions to follow the El Paso example that cut illegal entries by 74 percent. Other provisions would cut off the flow of federal aid to illegal aliens (other than for emergency medical services), make it more difficult for those likely to become public charges to enter the country, and require law enforcement agencies to verify the status of those immigrants applying for social services.

A number of steps can be taken immediately to lower our unacceptably high crime rate, without forming a police state and without infringing upon the liberties of law-abiding citizens. One of those steps is to police our borders. As Silvestre Reyes noted several years ago when he was the chief Border Patrol agent in McAllen, Texas, the "country that fails to control its borders will fail to control its history." ■

— William P. Hoar



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Tearing Apart Our Moral Fabric

The rate of criminal activity, to a very large degree, is one of the sound measurements of the health of a nation. Since America's crime problem is extremely grave, we are wise if we look below the surface of events and try to discover how this came to be. The roots of America's ongoing crime crisis may be found in the general collapse of the fundamental moral outlook of a significant number of Americans, and, in a closely related event, to the rise of the welfare state.

Unquestionably, some of the fault for present conditions rests with the American people themselves, who have been insufficiently vigilant, tolerating the undermining of their own Constitution and the corruption of politicians who buy the votes of various constituencies and special interest groups by giving away largesse from the public treasury (that is, by giving them the property they have taken from working Americans of all classes). To a much greater extent, however, the blame rests on the doorstep of the liberal establishment, with those who experiment with and manipulate human lives.

Liberty and Morality

The Spanish philosopher, statesman, and writer, Juan Donoso-Cortés, once said:

> There are only two possible forms of control: one internal and the other external; religious control and political control. They are of such a nature that when the religious barometer rises, the barometer of [external] control falls and likewise, when the religious barometer falls, the political barometer, that is political control and tyranny, rises. That is a law of humanity, a law of history.

Cortés went on to say that if civilized man allows himself to fall into disbelief and immorality, then "the way is prepared for some gigantic and colossal tyrant, universal and immense."

Cortés, as we see, was an astute observer of humankind, and yet his statement is not drawn from some body of esoteric knowledge. As he said, the connection between morality and liberty is a "law of history," clear to anyone attentive to reality, and indeed others have also written along similar lines.

Political liberty, in any event, requires a high degree of virtue; many great men, including some of America's Founding Fathers, have written and spoken of this. Moreover, since a society racked by rampant and rising crime is a society afflicted with one or more moral or social ills, it is also a society headed for despotism.

We shall now examine some of these ills, these root causes, the chief symptoms of which are increasing disrespect and disregard for law and for the rights of decent citizens. Though our list is not comprehensive, and indeed many more aspects of these problems might be included if space allowed, those noted here constitute the heart of the matter. They are: 1) the destruction of the family, 2) the sexual and drug revolutions, 3) the influence of the mass media, and 4) the collapse of American education. Obviously, at the same time, these four moral and social ills are not wholly separate from one another but, rather, are closely interrelated and act, either consciously or unconsciously, in concert.

Destroying the Family

Almost from the beginning of civilized life on this planet, the family has been the focal point, the elementary building block, and the fundamental nucleus of civilized society. Sap the foundation of the family, and the result is that society and the national entity are thereby undermined. It is certainly no secret that the integrity of the family in the United States is in decline. One may see this, first, through the examination of statistics on illegitimacy in contemporary America. Looking at the nation as a whole, approximately 30 percent of all live births take place outside of wedlock (that is, 1.2 million children per annum). In 1950, by comparison, such births totaled approximately 12 percent. For blacks, the figure is now 70 percent nationally, and in excess of 80 percent in some inner cities. For whites, it is over 20 percent and rising.

Charles Murray, writing in the *Dallas Morning News* for January 9, 1994, states that present-day trends with re-

Government social policies have rewarded the breakup of the family structure

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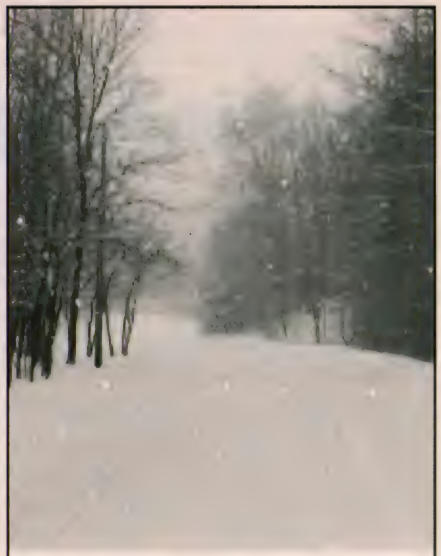

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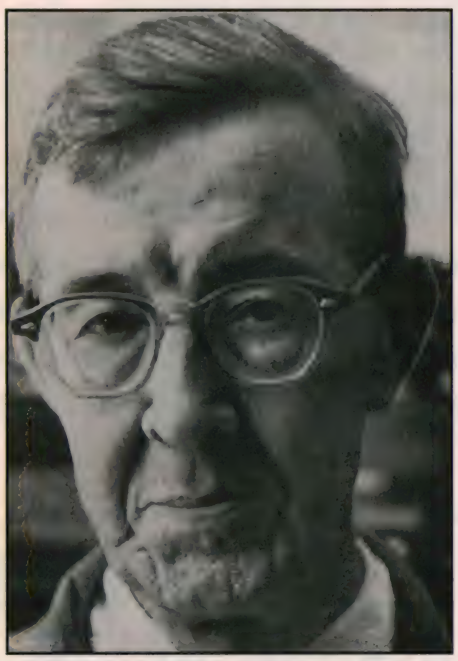
gard to illegitimacy point to the emergence of a new, vast underclass, made up not only of members of various minority groups, especially blacks, but of whites as well. According to his research, societal problems begin to surface when a population's illegitimacy rate passes the 25 percent mark. At that point, a severe disruption of the societal structure becomes more and more evident. Murray writes that once the 25 percent figure is passed within the white community,

> The white underclass will begin to show its face in isolated ways. Look for [students in] certain schools in white neighborhoods to get a reputation as unteachable, with large numbers of disruptive students and indifferent parents.... [L]isten for stories about white neighborhoods where the incidence of domestic disputes and casual violence has been shooting up. Look for white neighborhoods with high concentrations of drug activity and large numbers of men who have dropped out of the labor force. As the spatial concentration of illegitimacy reaches critical mass, we should expect the deterioration to be as fast among low-income whites in the 1990s as it was among low-income blacks in the 1960s.

Murray's solution is significant. He contends that government social policies, beginning in the 1960s, rewarded the breakup of the family structure through, among other things, the subsidizing of illegitimacy. He states that government must "restore the rewards and penalties of marriage" that previously existed. This does not require "social engineering," he writes, but simply requires that government allow natural forces to reassert themselves. Government, in other words, must stop interfering with these natural processes, which, by themselves, "have done the job quite effectively for millennia." First and foremost, he argues, government must end all economic support for single women with children. That would immediately send the message that "to have a baby that you cannot care for yourself is profoundly irresponsible, and the government will no longer subsidize it."

Present government policy encourages the creation of an underclass — be it black, white, or both — and this underclass is becoming the source of greater and greater instability in our society. Furthermore, it feeds upon itself, demanding an ever higher share of tax dollars for the administration of welfare programs, criminal justice, and for the growing bureaucracies requisite to such things. That, in turn, impoverishes ever larger numbers of those marginal members of the lowest stratum of the middle class, stealing their hard-earned dollars through taxation, destroying their jobs by driving small businesses into bankruptcy, sending them finally over the poverty line, and transforming productive citizens into welfare recipients.



Sorokin gave early warning of the ruinous nature of the sexual revolution

Sex and Drugs

Sociologist Pitirim Sorokin, writing in the mid-1950s in his book *The American Sex Revolution*, warned Americans that the budding sexual revolution of that time would bring ruinous consequences in its wake, including terrible social dislocations and the spread of mental, physical, and spiritual diseases of various sorts, and that it had a powerful potential even to destroy society. Sorokin first addressed the fact that the sexual revolution is not a neutral, harmless, "live and let live" concept, but something aggressive and ruinous; it is truly a "revolution" in the ugliest sense of that word and aims to pull down the pillars of traditional life. Sorokin comments:

> The sex drive is now declared to be the most vital mainspring of human behavior. In the name of science, its fullest satisfaction is urged as a necessary condition of man's health and happiness. Sex inhibitions are viewed as the main source of frustrations, mental and physical illnesses and criminality. Sexual chastity is ridiculed as a prudish superstition. Nuptial loyalty is stigmatized as an antiquated hypocrisy. Father is painted as a jealous tyrant desirous of castrating his sons to prevent incest with their mother. Motherhood is interpreted as a "momism," wrecking the lives of children. Sons and daughters are depicted as filled with the "complexes" of seduction of their mother and father respectively.... The traditional "child of God" created in God's image is turned into a sexual apparatus powered by sex instinct, preoccupied with sex matters, aspiring for, and dreaming and thinking mainly of, sexual relations.

Sorokin writes that the disorder brought about by the sexual revolution brings mental diseases, emotional storms and crises, and, most tellingly for Americans living in the dangerous world of the late 20th century, a paralysis of will. In turn, concomitant with such volitional paralysis, Sorokin writes,

> ... there is a growing inability of the society to control biological and emotional drives; to resist the temptations of flesh and of material wealth and comfort; to curb the lust for power; to discharge painful duties and to make necessary sacrifices; and to chart and to follow its own historical course. From a self-determining and self-controlling collectivity, the society deteriorates into a passive drifter until it is brought to the brink of an historical Niagara.

Closely connected to the sexual revolution is the drug revolution, which began roughly simultaneously. Research shows that as late as 1962, only four

percent of American high school seniors had ever experimented with marijuana, whereas by 1982 (only 20 years later) that figure had soared to 59 percent. In the graduating class of 1985, nine out of ten members of that class had used alcohol, one in four had used marijuana within the previous month, one in six had used cocaine, and one in eight had tried hallucinogens.

If the sexual revolution brings paralysis of will, then the drug revolution brings the atrophy of moral conscience. Both clearly comprise major roots of crime. Nations in which individual self-control and responsibility are allowed to disappear, either as a matter of deliberate government policy or through some other means, are nations that are doomed to become bleached bones in the museum of history.

Mass Media

The mass media — television, films, radio, and periodicals — have become, as it were, psychological "weapons of mass destruction." With very few exceptions, music and entertainment range, insofar as our culture is concerned, from the mind-numbing vapidity of "sitcoms" to the openly devastating lunacy of rock "music" — the funeral march, so to speak, of Western civilization. They have become the very quintessence of the spirit of nihilism.

The term "nihilism" comes from the Latin word "nihil," which means "nothing." In other words, the media promote the notion that there is no such thing as truth, that nothing is worth believing in, nothing is worth living or dying for, and nothing is sacred. God, religion, patriotism, fidelity, family, beauty, nobility, virtue, goodness, altruism, love, and so on are, in the eyes of the nihilist, all illusions.

It is little wonder that, with the average American child spending 20,000 hours in front of the television by age 18 (as opposed to 11,000 hours in the classroom) and, so, drinking deeply at the poisoned wells of nihilism, crime is out of control.

Classroom Revolution

Liberals are enemies of reality. They live in the dream world of "what we feel ought to be," rather than what truly is. This view compels them to subvert true education and to try to use education as a tool for social experimentation and to stimulate social revolution. All people, according to the liberal view, should have exactly the same intellectual capabilities. Thus, equality of opportunity is displaced by equality of outcome. Since in the real world — one which the liberal ideologue does not accept — each and every human being does not possess the same intellectual gifts, every standard is brought downward to the lowest common level.

Furthermore, according to the liberal view, all people are not only equally gifted mentally but they are also all equally good. So traditional discipline, they aver, is not only a relic of the wicked authoritarianism of the past, it damages the tender psyches of young miscreants, who would not be miscreants were they not "discriminated against" and were not most of the members of American society so "racist" and "oppressive." Again, the lowest denominator is the order of the day and so nascent sociopaths are permitted to turn classrooms into veritable bedlams of chaos.

Nations in which individual self-control and responsibility are allowed to disappear are nations that are doomed to become bleached bones in the museum of history.

One must not underestimate, too, the baneful influence of the federal government in the destruction of the educational system, a system over which they took effective control beginning in the mid-1950s as a result of Supreme Court decisions. Federal dollars, which began to flow into local school districts in the early 1960s, have come at the cost of federal regulation of local schools, effectively taking control away from the members of the local community and placing it in the hands of bureaucrats thousands of miles away. Here again, social engineering is the prescription, societal demolition is the result.

The social engineers, who see their fellow human beings as laboratory rats and who apparently love nothing better than to observe the distress and agony that result from social experimentation, are mostly upper-crust types. They range from over-paid and under-worked college professors, through warm-talking, cold-hearted politicians, to internationalist-minded executives of multi-national corporations. In virtually every case, their hefty incomes and generous perks allow for their insulation from the hideous results of their experimental schemes. Whatever class hatreds and racial poison they stir up by their rhetoric and ill-begotten legislation, they know in their hearts it will not touch them or their families. Their livelihoods, their social positions, their safety, and their security — all guaranteed by the labors of American taxpayers — are not at risk.

The present liberal elite has pushed this nation to the edge of chaos, and a case may be built that it has all been part of a premeditated plan, so that the same elite may rule where previously they merely "served." When limited government and freedom are allowed to slip away, this usually results in a "time of troubles," a period of incessant chaos. But chaos is never a permanent state in human affairs. Chaos, inevitably, must be followed by tyranny.

One Hope

At this late stage, tradition-minded Americans have but one hope and that lies with the restoration of our Constitutional Republic and the demise of the welfare state. Such a restoration would mean the restoration also of local control over schools and police, and that local courts would be free to punish criminals properly. It would mean, as well, the sharp limitation of the ability of federal courts to interfere in the affairs of local communities. Strong, self-reliant local communities would, in turn, rebuild the notion of strong individuals.

It must be emphasized that to achieve our goals, including the demise of the welfare state and a return to personal responsibility, Americans must be impelled towards a heart-felt return to the values, ethics, and morals of our forebears. ■

— Fr. James Thornton

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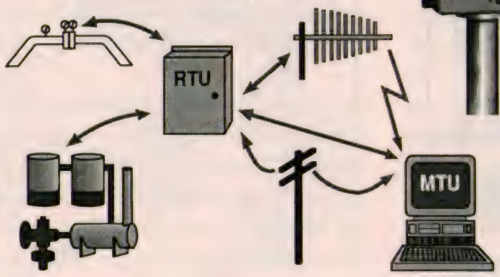

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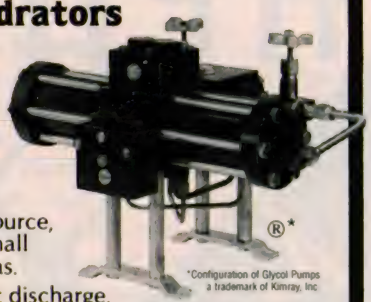

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Obstacle to the Gun Controllers

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

— Second Amendment

The Founding Fathers greatly feared the power of government. They recognized that a certain amount of government is necessary to protect the liberties of the people, but that too much government will inevitably become destructive of those liberties. As George Washington warned: "Government is not reason; it is not eloquence; it is force! Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master."

In their effort to confine government to the role of a dangerous servant, the Founding Fathers in 1787 drafted a constitution that limited federal powers only to those enumerated and even crafted into that constitution a brilliant system of checks and balances. It takes more than words on parchment, however, to prevent government from becoming a fearful master. Government *is* force, just as Washington said, and it can be kept in check only if the people who created it retain the means to prevent it from getting out of control.

Recognizing the importance of an armed citizenry for the preservation of liberty, Alexander Hamilton wrote in *The Federalist* (#28): "If the representatives of the people betray their constituents, there is then no recourse left but in the exertion of that original right of self-defense which is paramount to all positive forms of government...." Noah Webster expressed the same principle this way: "The supreme power in America cannot enforce unjust laws by the sword; because the whole body of the people are armed, and constitute a force superior to any band of regular troops that can be, on any pretence, raised in the United States." And Patrick Henry noted: "Guard with jealous attention the public liberty. Suspect every one who approaches that jewel. Unfortunately, nothing will preserve it but downright force. Whenever you give up that force, you are ruined.... The great object is that every man be armed."

What can be more obvious than the fact that the men who shaped the new American Republic viewed the right to keep and bear arms as a fundamental right! As U.S. Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story explained in 1833 in his *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*: "The right of the citizens to keep and bear arms has justly been considered as the palladium of the liberties of a republic; since it offers a strong moral check against usurpation and arbitrary power of rulers; and will generally, even if these are successful in the first instance, enable the people to resist and triumph over them."

Dan Edmonds

The right to bear arms is embedded in our history

In light of the historical record, it seems ludicrous that anyone would argue that the Second Amendment guarantees only a *collective* right, not an individual right, to keep and bear arms. Yet this is exactly what innumerable gun control advocates purport! The Second Amendment, they claim with a straight face, only protects the right of an organized militia (such as the National Guard) to keep and bear arms. They even go so far as to say that the Second Amendment's reference to "the right of the people" refers merely to the right of the people as a whole, acting through their government.

In point of fact, the term "militia" refers to the people at large, armed and ready to defend their liberties. George Mason, the author of Virginia's Declaration of Rights upon which the Bill of Rights was based, asked, "Who are the militia? They consist now of the whole people, except a few public officers." Title 10, Section 311 of the U.S. Code states, "The militia of the United States consists of all able-bodied males at least 17 years of age...."

The phrase "the right of the people" is used elsewhere in the Bill of Rights to guarantee the right of individuals. The First Amendment refers to "the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." The Fourth Amendment refers to "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures...." The authors of the Bill of Rights surely would not have used the phrase "the right of the people" to mean the rights of individuals in some amendments, while using that same phrase in other amendments to mean the right of the collective, which in essence means the right of government.

The Founding Fathers, who greatly feared government and who fought a revolution to oust a governing force that had become tyrannical, would never have adopted an amendment guaranteeing only a collective right to bear arms. Yet this is exactly what the gun controllers claim the Founding Fathers did! Fortunately, in spite of all the propaganda to the contrary, the Second Amendment is still a part of our Constitution, it still means exactly what it says, and it still represents a formidable obstacle to those who want to deny the American people their fundamental right to keep and bear arms. ■

— Gary Benoit

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America's system of government is based on the recognition that (in the words of the Declaration of Independence) "men ... are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." In our republic, as in any free society, laws are designed to protect the rights of the individual from foreign threats, from the criminal element — and even from government itself. In a totalitarian society, on the other hand, laws are directed at controlling the people instead of the government.

This is precisely why a free people must retain the right to keep and bear arms. As John F. McManus, publisher of THE NEW AMERICAN, explains, "The Second Amendment does not exist to protect the rights of hunters, sportsmen, and target shooters. It exists because the Founding Fathers knew that the law they constructed — to empower government but to hold it to a strictly limited domain — means nothing if there is no force to back it up. And they properly intended that such power be left in the hands of the people themselves. Ultimately, it is the right to keep and bears arms against government that backs up the rights to speak, publish, practice religion, etc."

At Lexington, armed patriots challenged Redcoats sent to seize their weapons

Fundamental Right

The right to keep and bear arms is in at least one respect the most fundamental right of all because it insures all other rights. An armed citizenry that understands this basic principle would never give up its right to keep and bear arms. But would-be dictators understand this principle too, and will do everything possible to disarm the people so as to leave them defenseless at the hands of the state. Government oppression thrives when the people are disarmed.

In his overview of the history of the Second Amendment, *That Every Man Be Armed* (1984), attorney Stephen P. Halbrook recalls that "[Julius] Caesar's account of the Gallic wars contains numerous instances which buttress the obvious proposition that the deprivation of the right to bear arms is a requisite for conquest. Caesar recognized the difficulty in conquering an armed people." When he defeated the Gauls, Caesar routinely collected all arms. Sundry historical accounts cited by Halbrook contain such observations as "all arms were collected from the town"; "there could be no terms of surrender save on delivery of arms"; Caesar "cut off the hands of all who had borne arms"; and he "slew a great number of them and stripped all of their arms."

In 1671, more than a century before the American Revolutionary War, King Charles II imposed legislation to disarm indigenous Englishmen, while his royal governor for the American colonies, Sir William Berkeley, did the same to disarm indigenous Americans. Halbrook writes: "Thus, arms control laws in the English experience served not only to subjugate domestically the poor and middle classes and religious groups, but also to conquer and colonize the Scots, the Irish, the American Indians, and finally the English settlers in America."

Battling the British

The Revolutionary War was itself triggered when the British attempted to confiscate arms which the colonists had stored at Concord. Late in the evening of April 18, 1775, General Thomas Gage, the British military governor of Massachusetts, dispatched troops on what was supposed to be a secret mission to capture the cannon and military supplies at Concord.

But before sunrise the next day, scores of colonists armed with loaded muskets gathered on the Lexington green and near the meeting house. When the British arrived and the British officer in charge ordered the rebels to "disperse, you villains — lay down your arms," they refused. The British officer then gave the order to surround the rebels, and in the confusion shots were fired. Three British soldiers were wounded and eight militiamen were killed.

Historian Donzella Cross Boyle writes in *Quest of a Hemisphere* that "the British continued the march to Concord where they destroyed a few cannon, burned sixteen new carriage wheels, and chopped down a liberty pole. Most of the supplies had been hidden in the woods. When British soldiers began to tear off the planks of the bridge crossing the river, militiamen gathered to stop the destruction, and shots were fired on both sides. As such action had

not been anticipated, British officers ordered a retreat to Boston for further orders. Along the way, the regulars were fired upon from behind walls and trees, houses and barns, by marksmen, who seemed 'to drop from the clouds.' During the eventful day, the British lost 65 killed, 183 wounded, and 28 who were made prisoners. The colonists or provincials had 49 killed, 39 wounded, and 5 who were missing." Thus began the long, bitter military struggle for American independence — a struggle that could never have succeeded if the colonists had not been armed.

Totalitarian Tactics

In one country after another during this century, totalitarian and authoritarian regimes have used gun registration records to confiscate firearms from those who might otherwise threaten their rule. An article in Florida's *Palm Beach Post* for June 20, 1968 described how stringent gun laws established during the anti-communist regime of Cuba's Fulgencio Batista enabled communist dictator Fidel Castro to solidify his control after toppling the Batista regime. Julio Rabel, who with his family escaped from Cuba in 1961, told the *Post* that under Batista the "owner of any gun, had to register it with the police. The license, filed with the police, contained not only the make, number and description of the gun, but also the owner's picture and fingerprints. Thus it was a simple matter for Castro's men to collect every gun in the country."

The relationship of gun control to the loss of freedom was especially apparent in Nazi-era Germany. In *"Gun Control": Gateway to Tyranny* (1992), Jay Simkin and Aaron Zelman include translations of the original texts of Germany's pre-Nazi and Hitler-era gun control statutes and their implementing regulations. The April 12, 1928 (pre-Nazi) "Law on Firearms and Ammunition" required registration of anyone having anything to do with firearms or ammunition. Licenses to purchase and carry firearms were restricted to persons of "undoubted reliability," as defined by government authorities. When the Nazis assumed power, they simply declined to renew the relevant permits, thereby justifying the confiscation of firearms and ammunition and clearly demonstrating how registration paves the way for confiscation.

In 1938, the Nazis imposed their own draconian gun control law to further deter any effective challenge to their increasingly oppressive rule. The law asserted that a license to manufacture guns "must not be issued if the applicant — or if one of the persons proposed for the commercial or technical management of the business — is a Jew." The section of the law dealing with the "Acquisition, Carrying, Possession, and Importation of Firearms and Ammunition" asserted that a "firearms acquisition permit is not needed by," among others, "officials of the central government, the states, the German Central Bank, and the German Super-highways (Autobahnen) Company...." Also exempt were those "to whom a firearm is supplied for official purposes," including those "in service of the central government" and "the states," "the S.A. [Stormtroopers]" and "the SS [Blackshirts]," and sundry other officials, as well as "cases authorized by the Führer."

"Every dictator, every absolute ruler, since the dawn of history has been sensitive to the consequences, or the possibilities, of arms in the hands of the people."

On November 11, 1938, further regulations regarding the possession of weapons by Jews were issued, which asserted that Jews "are prohibited from acquiring, possessing, and carrying firearms and ammunition, as well as truncheons or stabbing weapons."

Hitler's program of domestic disarmament served him well. Simkin and Zelman note that the "only armed effort to overturn the Nazis — an attempt to kill Hitler on 20 July 1944 — was launched by disenchanted Nazi insiders, not by ordinary people."

What a Few Guns Can Do

Nevertheless, there were occasions during the Nazi occupation when Hitler's victims, to the extent they had access to firearms, were able to hold their own. During the Warsaw Uprising of August-October 1944, resisters in the Polish underground held an entire Nazi division at bay while armed with only ten or so handguns (the Nazis apparently did not realize how few guns were involved). As many as a thousand persons were able to escape with their lives before the rebellion was quelled.

In an interview included in *Gateway to Tyranny*, Mr. H. L. Cahn, who was an inmate in one of the Auschwitz concentration camps when the SS guards abandoned it near the end of World War II, recalled that he "had the good fortune to be in the hospital and managed to fake sufficient weakness to be left behind. The 15,000 detainees, evacuated by the SS, drowned in the Baltic. Some 900 hospital patients stayed in the camp."

Once the SS troops were gone, Cahn "hastened to the armory, where I discovered hundreds of heavily damaged rifles of many types and thousands of rounds of ammunition. By a process of cannibalization [salvaging parts from many weapons], I managed to assemble three Carcano carbines and a couple of hundred rounds for each."

Two days later, when German troops returned to liquidate the 900 sick inmates that had been left behind, "we opened fire, and had the satisfaction to see some fall and others flee. In fact, by force of our arms, we remained alive — though weak and hungry — until after a week a U.S. Army patrol informed us that the Nazis were gone from that vicinity."

In his book *Gun Control* (1972), Robert J. Kukla asserts, "Every dictator, every absolute ruler, since the dawn of history has been sensitive to the consequences, or the possibilities, of arms in the hands of the people." During an anti-gun demonstration in Washington, DC last year, a display by one group featured a portrayal of the Statue of Liberty brandishing a handgun. Ironically, the message it portrayed was on target, for as the *Washington Times* editorialized on May 11, 1993: "Whatever you think about guns, without them there would never have been any liberty in the United States." ■

— Robert W. Lee

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.

— Ralph Waldo Emerson

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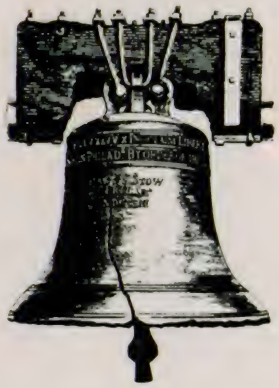

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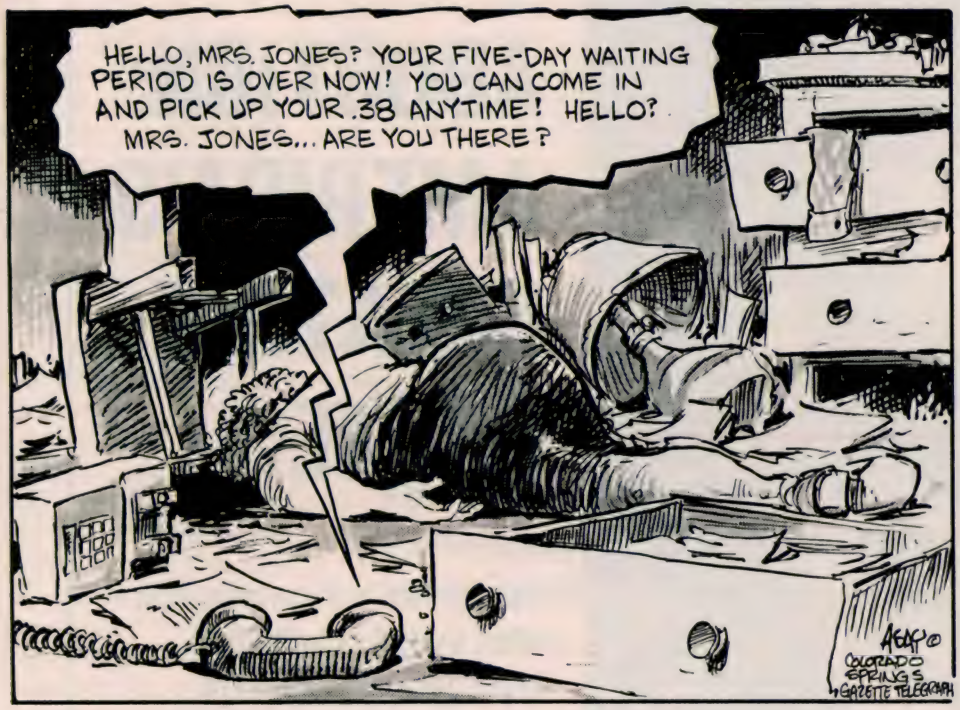
— Samuel Adams, 1776
Great Quotations, p. 808)

Protecting Life and Property


HELLO, MRS. JONES? YOUR FIVE-DAY WAITING PERIOD IS OVER NOW! YOU CAN COME IN AND PICK UP YOUR .38 ANYTIME! HELLO? MRS. JONES... ARE YOU THERE?
COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE TELEGRAPH

Year after year, despite the investment of astronomical sums of tax money to "fight crime," the battle is far from won. In response to the high crime rate, advocates of big government offer, among other counterproductive "solutions," more gun controls, thereby further increasing the ratio of guns in the hands of government and the criminal underworld to those available to ordinary citizens. It is no coincidence, as author Robert J. Kukla noted more than two decades ago in his comprehensive study, *Gun Control*, that "those who have sought the most in gun control have sought the least in the punishment of criminals," and have, at the same time, "been foremost in the aggravation of the conditions of crime which they say they deplore and which they pretend they seek to remedy."

Whereas gun controls nurture crime, the right to keep and bear arms properly exercised serves to protect individuals and communities from crime, and nations from tyranny. Gun control, after all, is not about the elimination of guns, but about who will control them. Guns would still exist even if they were outlawed, but in that event guns would become a virtual monopoly of government agents and common criminals, with the rest of society caught defenseless in the crossfire. Nobody in his right mind would put a sign on his front door proclaiming that "this house has no guns." Yet the elimination of guns in the hands of law-abiding citizens would in effect place such a sign on their homes.

Tale of Two Cities

As of 1990, the largest U.S. town to impose a near-total ban on handgun possession was the Chicago suburb of Evanston, Illinois. Evanston adopted its handgun ban on September 13, 1982, and Florida State University criminologist Dr. Gary Kleck reports that for "the three crime categories that involve gun use with any frequency [murder and non-negligent manslaughter, armed robbery, and aggravated assault], the data indicate that Evanston experienced increases in all three categories from 1982 to 1983," suggesting "that even the toughest gun law on the book failed to reduce violent crime."

In sharp contrast, the Atlanta suburb of Kennesaw, Georgia also passed a city gun ordinance in 1982 — one that requires heads of households (with certain exceptions) to keep at least one firearm in their homes. Though the penalty for violation is minimal, and there has been no attempt to enforce the statute, the improvement in the city's crime statistics is startling. During the law's first year, crimes against persons (including homicide, rape, armed robbery, aggravated assault, and residential burglary) plummeted 74 percent compared to 1981, then dropped another 45 percent in 1983 compared to 1982. Crime has remained remarkably low ever since, despite a population increase from around 5,000 in 1980 to more than 10,000 today. There were only 46 burglaries (both business and residential) during 1993. For the 11-year period 1983-93, armed robberies averaged a mere 1.6 annually, rapes 1.5, and murders 0.2. There have been no murders with firearms since the pro-gun ordinance went into effect. The city's only two homicides were committed with knives.

The Great Equalizer

Dr. Kleck recently completed a study indicating that guns are used in self-defense between 800,000 and 2.4 million times annually. In more than 90 percent of these cases, no one is injured or killed. And in most instances when shots are fired, the purpose is merely to frighten the assailants into retreating.

For instance, on February 22, 1991, a man walked into the Millcreek Pharmacy and Hardware store in Murray, Utah and handed pharmacist Rod Dunn a note asserting, "I am an addict. I have a gun. Be smart and no one will get hurt." The note demanded two pain-killers, which the robber successfully obtained. Thirteen days later, the same thug returned for a refill, telling Mr. Dunn, "Okay, let's do this one more time." But this time Dunn was ready. Pulling a .22-calibre revolver from under the counter and pointing it at the robber, Dunn declared, "I don't know if you have a gun, but I have one," at which point the suspect ran from the store. Dunn gave chase and fired a warning shot into a fence the fleeing malefactor was climbing. Although the suspect escaped, Dunn told THE NEW AMERICAN that there have been no fur-

ABORTION: AMERICA'S GREATEST CRIME

Human life is a precious gift from God. A country that legalizes the wholesale slaughter of millions of its unborn children will surely one day have to answer to Our Lord.

"In fighting for the right to life, we are also fighting for America."

— Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen

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ther robbery attempts since.

What carrying a concealed firearm can mean when the chips are down and the police are not around was demonstrated on December 30, 1992, when 75-year-old Michael Baranelli visited the barbershop in Birmingham, Alabama that he had patronized for some 40 years. Baranelli, another customer, and the shop owner were the only ones present when two thugs armed with .38-calibre pistols entered the shop and demanded valuables. The three complied, and Baranelli later told reporters that if "they had taken the money and walked out the door, that would have been the end of it. We'd have lost some money and been glad not to get killed."

Instead, one of the robbers asked, "Do you want to die?," his accomplice echoed the question, and the would-be victims were ordered to lie on the floor. At that point, Baranelli, who has held a permit to carry a concealed firearm for over 40 years, became convinced that they were going to die unless prompt action was taken. Baranelli had a two-shot, .22-calibre Derringer in his pocket that the *Birmingham News* later described, without much exaggeration, as a "peashooter." When the gunman standing directly in front of Baranelli momentarily turned to glance at his partner some eight or nine feet away, Baranelli quickly pulled the pistol from his pocket and, in a fraction of a second, shot both robbers. One died instantly and the other was knocked unconscious. Baranelli was able to save three innocent lives, including his own, because he was armed.

The elimination of guns in the hands of law-abiding citizens would in effect place a sign on their homes stating, "This house has no guns."

Brady Madness

During his confirmation hearings on July 29, 1993, FBI Director Louis J. Freeh endorsed the Brady waiting-period bill. Exactly one month earlier, on June 29, 1993, 21-year-old Woodbridge, Virginia resident Rayna Ross awoke at 3:00 a.m. to discover that ex-boyfriend Anthony Goree had forced his way into her apartment armed with a bayonet. With death possibly imminent, Ross pulled out the .38-calibre pistol she had purchased for protection only three days earlier and shot her assailant twice, mortally wounding him. Had a Brady-type waiting period been in effect at the time, Ross may well have been murdered, since, as the *Washington Times* for July 13, 1993 noted editorially, she had bought her gun "just one full business day before the attack came." And if "Ms. Ross lived in the District of Columbia, where handguns are banned, she would also be dead."

Not so fortunate was Bonnie Elmasri of Wauwatosa, Wisconsin. As reported in the May 14, 1993 issue of *The Gun Owners*, official newsletter of Gun Owners of America, Elmasri in 1991 "tried to buy a gun to protect herself from her estranged husband," but she "had to wait 48 hours before she could pick it up." Unfortunately, she never did so, as she and her two sons "were murdered the next day by an abusing husband of whom the police were well aware."

Former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Paul Craig Roberts speculates that the Brady law "will kill as many people as it will save. Waiting periods might prevent a few crimes of passion, but they also cause deaths by precluding self-defense." In addition, they divert scarce police resources from catching criminals to filling out paperwork.

Most of the widely publicized incidents of mass-murder with firearms have entailed a group of defenseless victims facing an armed lawbreaker. After racist gunman Colin Ferguson killed six persons and wounded 17 others on a crowded New York commuter train on December 7, 1993, President Clinton and other gun control lobbyists jumped on the incident to call for additional gun controls. Yet it was New York's Sullivan law, which precludes the carrying of concealed weapons by ordinary citizens, that assured there would be no one on the train adequately prepared to defend against Ferguson's attack. (For his part, Ferguson had obtained his gun legally in California after passing the Golden State's 15-day waiting period.)

Similarly, on October 16, 1991, George Jo Hennard killed 23 persons and wounded some 20 others at a cafeteria in Killeen, Texas before killing himself. Had just one victim been armed, he could have been stopped after relatively few casualties. Dr. Suzanna Gratia's mother and father were among his victims. Dr. Gratia, who was authorized to carry a gun in her automobile, but barred by state law from carrying it in her purse, later recalled that when she realized what was going on she "reached for my purse — I used to carry a gun in it. The gun was out in my car.... My anger, honestly, has turned toward legislators who have legislated me out of carrying my gun for my protection." Except for the gun control statute, "that gun would have been in my purse. I'm not saying I could have saved everybody in there, but I would have felt like I had a chance...."

Contrast the carnage wrought by Ferguson and Hennard with another incident that occurred near midnight on December 18, 1991 in Anniston, Alabama. Three armed robbers entered a Shoney's restaurant and began herding some 20 employees and patrons into a walk-in cooler. After closing the door, and while holding the manager at gunpoint, one of the thugs noticed a patron hiding under a nearby table and began shooting at what the thug apparently presumed was a defenseless victim. But Thomas Glen Terry was carrying a .45-calibre semi-automatic handgun for which he had a permit. Terry returned the fire, killing one of the robbers and critically wounding another, while the third fled. While Terry received a slight wound, the employees and other customers were unhurt. An Anniston police lieutenant was quoted as saying that Terry "is not a security guard or a police officer or anything that would call for him to carry a weapon that way, but I understand he carried it pretty much at all times." For which at least 20 of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his own loved ones, are very grateful.

Weapons Round-up

May 1, 1993 was Regional Gun Turn-In Day throughout crime-plagued Metropolitan Washington, DC. The stated purpose of this event was to get weap-

AP/Wide World photo

Had just one patron been armed, mass murderer George Hennard could have been stopped cold before he killed 23 persons at the Killeen, Texas cafeteria

ons out of homes and off the streets by having residents of the area surrender firearms to the police. Around 300 guns were collected. Needless to say, there was no evidence that any members of Washington's flourishing criminal community surrendered their weapons.

Luckily, one unidentified 52-year-old District resident did not participate in the ludicrous disarmament drive. Two days later, three youths knocked on his door and asked for some water to cool what they claimed was an overheated car engine. The homeowner gave them a bucketful but, taking no chances, placed the illegal handgun he had secured for self-protection on a shelf beside the door as the youths went to their car. When they returned with the empty bucket, one pulled a handgun and told the homeowner to raise his hands, which he did, and in the process retrieved the handgun he had sequestered on the shelf. The homeowner shot the gun-wielding thug, the other two fled, and the would-be victim, now safely in control of the situation, called the police. Had he turned in his gun two days earlier as the anti-gun zealots had urged, he might instead have been killed and would unquestionably have been the victim of a violent crime. The police confiscated the handgun which the assailant had brandished, but also the one with which the homeowner had defended his life, since he was not supposed to have it under the District's stringent gun control statutes. Bighearted authorities did say, however, that the man would not be prosecuted.

Commenting on the incident, the May 7, 1993 *Washington Times* editorialized that "guns in private hands can be and are effective in protecting their owners from crime and in preventing crime. Criminals know this; they avoid houses and places where they think there are guns. The only people who don't know it are the misguided and ill-informed do-gooders who want you to disarm yourself by throwing away your guns and making others throw away theirs — except the real criminals, who will not comply with these laws anyway."

Criminal Assist

As noted earlier, gun control laws hinder and harass ordinary citizens while doing virtually nothing to (except sometimes assisting) criminal predators. In fact, New York's Sullivan law, which helped make the commuter train safe for Colin Ferguson, was actually adopted in 1911 to help, not hinder, lawbreakers. Although it was sold to residents of the state as a crime-stopper, within two years the *New York Times* lamented (May 24, 1913) that "criminals are as well armed as ever" and acknowledged that it was "a fact too obvious for denial" that "the concealed weapon law has not worked as well as expected, or at any rate hoped, by those of us who commended it in principle...." Which should have come as no surprise, since, as Paul Craig Roberts has noted, Timothy D. Sullivan, for whom the law was named, "was a member of the State Assembly who represented the Red Hook district of Brooklyn. This district surrounds the Gowanus Canal. It was a hotbed of crime in the late 19th century and remains a dangerous place today. Many of Red Hook's inhabitants made their living from robbing the docks and warehouses and assaulting persons from other parts of the city who had to pass through the district. To protect against robberies, owners armed their dock workers, and persons who had to pass through the district began carrying weapons. These acts of self-protection caused a sharp drop in robberies."

From the thugs' perspective, however, some help was needed. Roberts continues: "Red Hook's criminals persuaded Sullivan to introduce and secure the passage of a law that disarmed the public so that robberies could not be prevented by armed resistance. The purpose of the Sullivan law was to protect the criminal," a purpose it has served for nearly a century.

After the CBS program *Street Stories* broadcast a segment on "Women and Guns" last year, producer Jill Fieldstein received a note from a Nevada viewer, to whom she responded on April 29, 1993: "As a card carrying member of the liberal media, producing this piece was an eye opening experience. I have to admit that I saw guns as inherently evil, violence begets violence, and so on. I have learned, however, that in trained hands, just the presence of a gun can be a real 'man stopper.' I am sorry that women have had to resort to this, but ... wishing it wasn't so won't make it any safer out there."

Perhaps there is hope! ■

— Robert W. Lee

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Shooting Down Faulty Arguments

Public discussion of many important issues, from the environment to health care, is being seriously garbled by misleading collectivist clichés which at first glance may seem credible, but which crumble when closely scrutinized. The ongoing debate about gun control is no exception. Following are a few of the most widely utilized — and deceptive — clichés currently parroted by advocates of gun control in their quest for domestic disarmament.

The Second Amendment does not apply to individuals. Were that actually the case, there would be little basis for concluding that other rights protected by the Bill of Rights apply to individuals. Just as the Second Amendment safeguards the right of "the people" to keep and bear arms, the Fourth Amendment guarantees the right of "the people" to be secure from unreasonable searches and seizures. Are we to believe that the Fourth Amendment does not apply to individuals? Or that the First Amendment protections for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, etc. do not apply to individuals?

As attorney Stephen P. Halbrook notes in his important book *That Every Man Be Armed*, "If a court held that 'the people' mentioned in the First Amendment are a select group of orators, or that small printing presses and cheap handbills could be outlawed as long as expensive newspapers are published, outraged civil libertarians would quickly disprove these restrictive views by reference to history."

H. Armstrong Roberts

Gun control advocates use a variety of misleading clichés

Gun control laws are needed to curb crime and violence. This claim is predicated on the preposterous assumption that such laws can keep guns out of criminal hands. They cannot. But even if everyone but the police and military were somehow disarmed (a seemingly impossible task since criminals would not willingly turn in their guns), thugs could still secure guns simply by stealing them from the police or military. It happens all the time. On occasion, even felons in maximum security prisons have escaped using smuggled guns.

If everyone, including the police and military, were legally disarmed, the problem would remain, since serviceable homemade "zip" guns can be easily manufactured from such raw materials as radio antennas, gas pipes, rubber bands, door latches, and nails. Were guns outlawed, outlaws would still find ways to secure them.

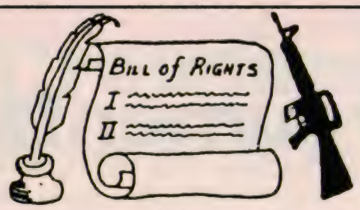
Guns are a public health menace. Violence (not guns) is a public health issue. Guns are an effective deterrent for quelling violence and for protecting the life and limb of the innocent.

Florida State University criminologist Dr. Gary Kleck estimates that at least 75 percent of all uses of guns in crime-related incidents are defensive uses by crime victims (about 2.4 million incidents annually). One of six defensive gun users claims that someone would almost surely have died had they not used their gun, which, Dr. Kleck notes, "would imply about 400,000 purportedly lifesaving uses of their guns annually, a figure which would dwarf the nearly 37,000 lives taken with guns." Dr. Kleck observes that "taking guns away from millions of crime victims who would have effectively used them to prevent death and injury could cost thousands of lives," to say nothing of the astronomical health care cost.

Countries with strict gun control laws, such as Japan, Britain, and Canada, have a small fraction of the U.S. level of violent crime. Dr. Kleck notes in *Point Blank* the many flaws in equating crime and the availability of guns in the U.S. with other countries. Kleck notes that it is true, for instance, that Great Britain "does indeed have both stricter gun laws and less homicide than the United States," but "Britain's rates of knife homicide and of killings with hands and feet are also far lower than the corresponding rates in the United States," and "no one is foolish enough to infer from these facts that the lower violence rates were caused by a lower rate of knife ownership in Britain, or to the British having fewer hands and feet than Americans." Great Britain "had far less violence than the United States long before it had strict gun laws," and "England's homicide rate relative to that of the United States was the same or even slightly worse after fifty years of strict gun control."

Comparisons between gun crime in the U.S. and Japan also ignore cultural differences. To partially control for such differences, Dr. Kleck compared homicide rates among Japanese-Americans and their presumably culturally similar brethren in Japan. He found that "in Japan, where civilian gun ownership is virtually nonexistent and gun control laws are extremely strict, the homicide rate is 2.3 times as high as it is among Japanese-Americans living where guns are easily available and gun laws are far less restrictive."

Internationally, there is simply no meaningful correlation between violent crime and gun control laws. In such relatively crime-free countries as Switzerland, Israel, and New Zealand, guns



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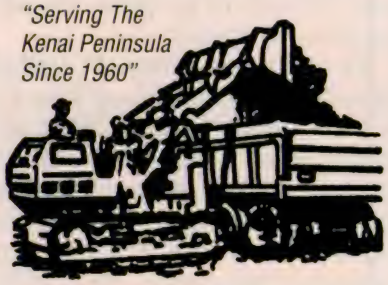

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are even more available than here in the United States. But in Taiwan and South Africa, the two nations that most severely restrict gun ownership (violators are subject to the death penalty), the apolitical murder rates are far higher than in the U.S.

Guns have only one purpose: to kill. There are an estimated 200 million privately owned guns in the United States, and there were about 38,000 gun-related deaths (homicides, suicides, and accidents) in 1991. Even assuming the use of a different firearm in each incident, less than 0.02 percent of all firearms were involved. In more than 90 percent of instances when guns are used for self-defense, they merely frighten assailants into retreat without injury or death to those involved. Since guns are also used for hunting, sports competition, recreation, collecting, etc., the fallacy of this cliché is apparent.

Using a gun for self-defense increases the likelihood of mistakenly killing an innocent person. Such unfortunate accidents will happen, but the available data indicates that they happen less frequently among homeowners than among the police. In their important 1992 study *Myths About Gun Control*, Dr. Morgan O. Reynolds of Texas A&M University and W. W. Caruth III of the National Center for Policy Analysis note that armed citizens mistakenly kill innocent persons about 30 times a year. In contrast, police mistakenly kill around 330 persons annually.

The risk of being murdered is higher in homes with guns than in those without. This claim is largely based on an article which appeared last year in the *New England Journal of Medicine*. It concluded that the risk of being murdered was 2.7 times higher in homes with guns. In a subsequent analysis published as a guest editorial in the *Journal of the Medical Association of Georgia*, Dr. Gary Kleck noted some of the *NEJM* study's flagrant flaws. For one thing, the researchers had "found more guns in the households of homicide victims than households without homicide victims and concluded that the guns must have somehow caused the violence." It is as if they "had found that insulin was more common in the households of diabetes patients than in households without a diabetic patient and concluded that insulin causes diabetes."

Dr. Kleck points out that "violent circumstances (such as associating with dangerous people and engaging in dangerous activities) can lead people to acquire guns for protection." Because the *NEJM* study "did nothing to distinguish cause from effect," it "can tell us nothing about the effects, either risk-increasing or risk-decreasing, of keeping guns for self-protection."

The Old West was relatively safe compared to today because enough citizens were armed

Most gun uses are defensive in nature, and most criminals are frightened off without a shot being fired. When the hundreds of thousands of defensive uses that save lives without anyone being injured are taken into account, it becomes obvious that far more lives are saved when homeowners are armed than when they are defenseless.

Gun owners, like automobile drivers, should be licensed and required to pass proficiency tests. It is not illegal for an unlicensed person to buy an automobile or drive one on his or her private property. Though automobiles are both licensed and registered, and those who drive them on public roads and highways must also be licensed, they account for about 28 times as many *accidental* deaths as do firearms. This despite estimates indicating that there are more firearms in American homes (around 200 million, including 70 million handguns) than registered and licensed motor vehicles on our highways (about 187 million in 1991).

Waiting periods for purchase of handguns have kept many convicted felons from obtaining firearms. Gun control lobbyists claimed that some 1,300 illegal purchasers were blocked by Maryland's waiting period in 1990. Firearms Coalition head Neal Knox notes, however, that most such denials "are subsequently approved. They are initially rejected due to misidentification, police records that do not include dispositions [as when charges are dropped following an arrest], or outstanding arrest warrants due to excessive parking tickets and similar innocuous reasons."

According to the commander of Maryland's Firearms License Section, "Hundreds of thousands of individuals have been initially disapproved over the years ... and were approved" on subsequent appeal. In other words, waiting periods inconvenience the law-abiding far more than the lawbreaker.

A waiting period such as the Brady bill could have prevented John Hinckley from obtaining the gun he used to wound President Reagan and Jim Brady. When the Brady law went into effect on February 28th, President Clinton phoned Jim Brady and his wife, Sarah (chairman of Handgun Control, Inc.), and claimed that "Jim Brady has paid a terrific price for the fact that we didn't have the Brady bill" when he was shot and wounded during the 1981 assassination attempt on President Reagan.

The implication that a waiting period would have stopped John Hinckley from obtaining a firearm is unjustified.

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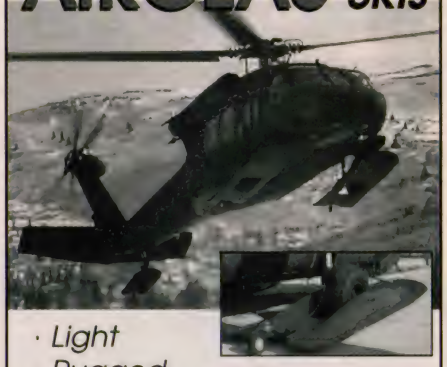

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Indeed, a waiting period would likely have made matters even worse. Hinckley had no criminal record and no public record of mental problems. Although he purchased his weapon in Texas, which had no waiting period, he could just as easily have obtained it in a state with a waiting period.

Colin Ferguson, who killed six unarmed persons and wounded 17 others on a crowded New York commuter train on December 7, 1993, obtained his gun legally after passing California's 15-day waiting period. Patrick Purdy, who killed five children in a California schoolyard, passed California's waiting period despite a record that included seven felony arrests that were not on his record since they were all plea-bargained down to misdemeanors. And Mark David Chapman murdered musician John Lennon in New York in 1980 after purchasing his pistol legally in Hawaii following a seven-day wait.

Most murders with guns are committed against friends or family members. To the contrary, Reynolds and Caruth report that a "majority of murders involve strangers or people with whom the killer is not acquainted. Fewer than a fourth of all murders involve family members or friends." Indeed, "murders involving family members or friends have been a declining share of all murders...."

We must not return to the violent days of the Old West. Compared to the United States today, the frontier was a blissful haven. As UCLA historian Dr. Roger McGrath documented in his book *Guns, Highwaymen and Vigilantes: Violence in the Old West* (1984), rates of murder, rape, robbery, and other violent crimes were a small fraction of what they are today specifically *because* so many persons were armed. Contrary to myths about the Old West, bank robberies were few (tellers and managers were armed), as were stagecoach robberies (especially those transporting bullion, which carried extra armed protection). Dr. McGrath observes that "the young, the old, and the female — those most vulnerable — were far safer in the most wild and wooly frontier towns than they are in any American city today," since "people had arms, knew how to use them, and were willing to fight with deadly force to protect their persons or property."

Gun controls have kept many criminals from obtaining guns. Reynolds and Caruth note that "the places where gun control laws are toughest tend to be the places where the most crime is committed with illegal weapons." They point out that among "the 15 states with the highest homicide rates, 10 have restrictive or very restrictive gun laws" and "20 percent of U.S. homicides occur in four cities with just 6 percent of the population — New York, Chicago, Detroit and Washington, DC — and each has a virtual prohibition on private handguns." New York, with "one of the most restrictive gun laws in the nation," has "20 percent of the armed robberies."

William F. Jasper

Police have no legal obligation to protect individual citizens and cannot be held liable for failing to do so

Individual citizens do not need guns for self-protection since that is the job of the police. Numerous state and federal court decisions have firmly established that the police have no legal obligation to protect individual citizens and cannot be held liable for failing to do so. Some of those key decisions are summarized in an important report, *Dial 911 And Die?*, published by the Wisconsin-based Jews for the Preservation of Firearms Ownership (JPFO), which concludes that Americans who believe that their local police have a duty in law to protect them against criminals "are wrong." As a result of this complacency-inducing belief, JPFO contends, many persons have become crime victims after being "duped by ignorant or else dishonest politicians or police chiefs, who promise protection that they cannot give and have no legal duty to give."

Dr. Gary Kleck agrees that the claim that "citizens can depend on police for effective protection, is simply untrue," since it "implies that police can serve the same function as a gun in disrupting a crime in progress, before the victim is hurt or loses property. Police cannot do this, and indeed do not themselves even claim to be able to do so. Instead, police primarily respond reactively to crimes *after* they have occurred...." The idea that "modern police are so effective in controlling crime that they have rendered citizen self-protection obsolete is widely at variance with a large body of evidence that police activities have, at best, only very modest effects on crime."

Guns are largely to blame for teen suicide. Writing in *Reason* magazine for July 1993, David P. Kopel, director of the Second Amendment Project at the Independence Institute, pointed out that "while teenage suicide has remained stable in the United States in the last 15 years, it has risen sharply in Europe, where gun control is much stricter. In Great Britain, where gun laws are very strict and the gun ownership rate is less than one tenth that in the United States, adolescent suicide has risen by more than 25 percent in just five years. Similarly, in Japan handguns and rifles are illegal and shotguns very difficult to obtain. Yet teenage suicide is 30 percent more frequent in Japan than in the United States."

If average citizens are allowed to carry weapons in their cars and on their persons, the homicide rate will skyrocket. Mr. Kopel and colleague Clayton E. Cramer evaluated the impact of laws that allow citizens to carry guns. In the ten states that have adopted laws requiring authorities to issue a carry permit for self-protection to anyone who passes a background check and completes a safety course, some states saw

modest decreases in the murder rate, while others saw slight increases, but "in neither large or small states do we see evidence of obvious long-term increases in murder rates after passage of these laws." The researchers concluded that carry-permit laws can do much good, especially in those states with high murder rates, and are unlikely to do significant harm. The most dramatic effect was in Florida, where they found that between 1975 and 1986, the murder rate was 18 percent to 57 percent above the national average. But after the state approved a carry-permit law in 1987, the murder rate fell steadily, from 36 percent above the national average in 1986 to some four percent below the national average in 1991.

More than two centuries ago, in his book *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764), criminologist Cesare Beccaria wrote that laws forbidding the carrying of firearms "disarm those only who are neither inclined nor determined to commit crimes.... Such laws make things worse for the assaulted and better for the assailants; they serve rather to encourage than to prevent homicides, for an unarmed man may be attacked with greater confidence than an armed man." The passage containing those words was copied in full by Thomas Jefferson in his *Commonplace Book*, the source book for his ideas on government.

A huge increase in the federal tax on ammunition would help to reduce the criminal misuse of guns. Criminals use guns as tools of their sordid trade. Were the ammunition tax hiked dramatically, it would simply amount to an added overhead expense for thugs bent on generating tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars of income via robberies and other crimes. In contrast, for the average American who purchases ammunition for recreation, sport shooting, and/or self-defense, there would be no financial return to offset the tax. As in so many other instances, a mammoth ammunition tax would tend to disarm the law-abiding while doing nothing to curb crime.

We can experiment with gun control legislation and repeal it if it doesn't work. Once on the books, even the most outrageous and counterproductive anti-gun strictures are extremely difficult to negate. The original national firearms law set a minimal barrel length of 18 inches, which made certain existing commercial barrel lengths illegal. It took 25 years of continuous effort to achieve a reduction in the barrel length to 16 inches so that the affected sporting rifles could be sold legally once again.

Similarly, the 1968 Gun Control Act, adopted in the emotional climate that followed the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy, was larded with provisions to harass and intimidate gun dealers, collectors, and law-abiding citizens. It took 18 years and an enormous amount of effort to make even the modest revisions incorporated in the 1986 Firearms Owners' Protection Act.

Increasing federal firearms dealer fees will make it more difficult for criminals to get guns. In January, Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen triggered the Clinton Administration's drive for a draconian increase in the firearms dealer fee from $200 over three years (under the Brady bill) to $600 annually. The stated goal, he said, is to eliminate 200,000 of the estimated 284,000 current licensees (71 percent). Yet in virtually the same breath, he referred to studies by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms indicating that "45 percent of licensed dealers don't acquire any firearms," while another 36 percent acquire less than ten a year. Those two categories account for over 80 percent of all gun dealers, which makes one wonder how, if 81 percent of dealers sell so few guns, eliminating 71 percent of dealers will significantly reduce gun sales, much less crime.

Bentsen himself acknowledged that only about "one-third of the guns that criminals get are from licensed dealers," while the other two-thirds come from "off-street sales," and "no law enforcers — not 400 or 4,000 — can stop that." So the real target is not so much the criminal element as (directly) law-abiding small firearms dealers and (indirectly) the American people as a whole.

Using a gun to resist a criminal will more likely than not get you killed or seriously injured. Whether one should resist a criminal attack depends largely on how one is equipped to resist. Based on available crime statistics, Dr. Gary Kleck concludes, "Robbery and assault victims who used a gun to resist were less likely to be attacked or to suffer an injury than those who used any other methods of self-protection or those who did not resist at all."

After gun resistance, "the victim course of action least likely to be associated with injury is doing nothing at all," but that strategy "is also the worst at preventing completion of the crime," and "passivity is not a completely safe course either, since a quarter of victims who did not resist were injured anyway."

All things considered, "active physical resistance without a gun often provokes offender attack, whereas resistance with a gun deters attack," and "gun-armed victim resistance to robbery or assault almost never provokes the offender to injure the victim."

The ominous statistics regarding gun violence speak for themselves. Few statistics are as prone to misleading interpretations as those involving guns. Homicide statistics do not reveal, for instance, how many were justified in self-defense. And the figures seldom reflect the extent to which firearms are being blamed for what are actually the failings of our criminal system of justice.

On June 2, 1993, for instance, Rodney G. Stokes shot and killed Francine Harris with a .38-calibre pistol at the state prison in Baltimore, Maryland, then killed himself. Ms. Harris, who had been having a "relationship" with Stokes, was employed by a wrecking company that was demolishing an obsolete wing of the penitentiary. Her death will appear in the year's statistics as a gun homicide, and Stokes' demise will appear as a gun suicide. But the stats will not explain that Stokes was an already-convicted killer who, instead of being executed for the brutal murder of a Baltimore man in 1975, received a life sentence, plus ten years, yet remained eligible for parole. He was placed on work release in January 1989, but instead of going to work on June 2nd he took a cab to the prison, where he killed Harris.

Had Stokes received the death penalty following his first murder, he would not have been around to ratchet up the gun-crime statistics that advocates of gun control so enthusiastically cite as a basis for battering the Second Amendment. ■

— Robert W. Lee

STICK TO YOUR GUNS!

THE FIGHT TO PRESERVE THE RIGHT TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS MUST BE BASED ON THE FOLLOWING BASIC FACTS:

1. The right to keep and bear arms is God-given. The Declaration of Independence proclaims as a "self-evident" truth: "Men ... are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." Many of those rights, including the right to keep and bear arms, were later listed in the Bill of Rights to the U.S. Constitution. God-given rights, of course, should not be qualified or interpreted out of existence by anyone, government included.

2. The right to keep and bear arms supplies the basis for the retention of all the other rights: to speak, publish, practice religion, etc. Men who do not have the ability to take up arms to defend their rights will soon find they have no rights. Privately owned weapons are indeed the ultimate authority. Having the right to possess them protects the rights to speak, publish, etc.

3. The main purpose of the Second Amendment has always been to enable citizens to protect themselves from governments. The Second Amendment was not promulgated in the interests of hunters, sportsmen, or target shooters. It guarantees the right of every citizen to be armed, not just those who use their weapons for leisure purposes.

SOME EXPERT OPINIONS

Lenin called for "the disarming of the bourgeoisie" (middle class).

Stalin said: "If the opposition ... refuses to disarm, we shall disarm it ourselves."

Hitler required gun permits for all but Nazi officials. The German people were disarmed and were unable to oppose the Nazis.

4. The Second Amendment does not guarantee the right of an organized militia to be armed; it guarantees the God-given right of "the people" to keep and bear arms. In 1788, the primary author of the Bill of Rights, George Mason, defined militia as "the whole people except a few public officials." Attempts to interpret the Second Amendment to refer to anything but the right of each able-bodied citizen are completely fraudulent.

5. Mandating a waiting period before a person may purchase a handgun will not deter criminals but will adversely affect the rights of law-abiding citizens. Women anxious to defend themselves in the face of a killer on the loose — such as the one who claimed several victims at the University of Florida in 1990 — should not be forced to wait five days, or even five hours, to purchase a weapon.

6. A government that fears weapons in the hands of law-abiding citizens is itself to be feared. Even registration of weapons should be opposed. When Hitler's army invaded Holland, where gun registration had been mandated by Dutch authorities, the Nazi forces simply gathered up the registration lists and then gathered up the guns.

Our urging to all Americans remains firm: Stick To Your Guns!

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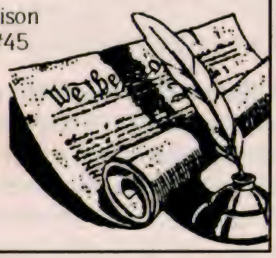
The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the Federal Government are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the state governments are numerous and indefinite.

James Madison
Federalist #45



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Larry Pratt

The Curse of Compromise

Neville Chamberlain thought he brought us peace when he made a deal with Hitler in 1938. A year later, World War II began. Compromise is seldom the road to victory. It is too bad that some supposedly pro-gun congressmen and their allies do not realize this. Compromise is a popular strategy in Washington, DC. But in terms of the Brady law and other gun control legislation, compromise means giving away what your enemy is not strong enough to take.

As I write these words, Handgun Control, Inc. has issued its new legislative agenda. This anti-gun lobbying group, headed by Sarah Brady, wants gun registration, firearms bans, etc. But such enemies as Handgun Control are not our most dangerous foes. The most deadly enemy is the person or politician who pretends to be your friend until a crucial moment arrives. Suddenly he makes a deal and you lose a bit more of your constitutional protections.

A compromise in the political arena is different from other forms of compromise. If I make a compromise on the price of a new car, the dealer can't jack up the price after I drive off the lot. But a political compromise is grounded on nothing firmer than the word of a politician.

Unexpected Results

Sometimes, pro-gun advocates think they can make a good trade by giving up something to get something. But the other side doesn't play fair. In 1989 in Oregon, gun rights groups traded a mandatory background check and a tripling of the state's waiting period (from 5 to 15 days) for what they thought would be an easier system for getting a permit to carry a concealed handgun. Yet the fee for concealed carry licenses was increased by 16 percent in 1990. And those licenses are good for just two years. As of 1990, it cost $50 to apply for a permit, which a sheriff could still deny at his discretion. The gun control side remains unsatisfied.

The instant check system, which was supposedly a great victory because it was incorporated into the Brady bill, turns out to be a means of computerized gun owner registration. Even the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment admitted in its 1991 report, *Automated Record Checks of Firearm Purchasers: Issues and Options*:

> The fact remains that computerized criminal records systems maintain, as standard operating procedure, transaction logs to document who is using the system, when, and for what purposes. Transaction logs are needed to help assure system accountability and security. The Virginia transaction log does not include the names of firearms purchasers, but the potential exists regardless of legal prohibitions.

Larry Pratt is executive director of Gun Owners of America

It was this ability to keep a computer file on all gun purchasers that became the basis for Virginia's "one gun per month" law passed in 1993. Had the computer system not already been set up and paid for, the state of Virginia's ability to administer any gun rationing law like this one would have been virtually impossible.

Thus, the much touted "alternative" to a waiting period turns out to be a permanent means of building a national, centralized, computerized gun registration scheme. When the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms tried this in 1978, the National Rifle Association (NRA), with Neil Knox's leadership, slapped them down. But starting in 1989, the NRA, under Warren Cassidy, chose to fight gun control with national computerized gun control. This created problems for the organization's hard-working lobbyists. Jim Baker of the NRA found himself forced by Cassidy's compromise to tell *USA Today* (October 26, 1993): "We already support 65% of the Brady bill, because it moves to an instant check, which is what we want."

I don't think the instant check is what Jim Baker or most NRA members wanted. But that is what they were stuck with. Any compromise our side offers is somehow treated as permanent; the other side's deals, however, are written in disappearing ink.

In the state of New Jersey the Second Amendment is a virtual dead letter. The voter revolt that has swept the state since Governor Jim Florio's tax increases and stricter gun control has succeeded in changing some policies in the state. But the gun rights climate is unlikely to improve, even under the state's new governor, thanks to the short-sighted efforts of some members of that state's pro-gun community.

One New Jersey sportsmen's group endorsed a political nobody, Christine Todd Whitman, against Senator Bill Bradley in 1990. When some folks tried to tell these people that Whitman was anti-gun, they wouldn't hear of it.

Ms. Whitman lost to Bradley in 1990, but that race made her Florio's leading opponent in the governor's race, which she ultimately won. In 1993, the New Jersey legislature passed a repeal of part of the Florio gun control package, but Florio vetoed the repeal. Whitman thanked her pro-gun supporters by publicly supporting Florio's veto. "Pro-gun" Christine Todd Whitman was nothing of the kind. She was anti-gun in 1990 and she remains anti-gun today. But a pro-gun group which allowed itself to become obsessed with partisan politics decided to make a star out of an enemy.

Beware the temptation to compromise on any Second Amendment issue. For the compromise we accept today, no matter

(continued on page 60)

The 7 Deadly Neutralizers p.13

The Deadliest p.13

The Biblical Destruction Group p.19

Paralyzing the Patriot p.22

Tell-tale Symptoms p.23

"There are (only) two sides to every question" p.25

Born in Scotland--Reared in England p.30

The Great Paper War (1897-1902) p.36

We Lost. Who Won? p.37

Fingerprints of the Unseen Hand p.49

Robert Welch Warned Us p.51

Codes, Ciphers, and Cryptograms p.55

"The Most Stupendous Fallacy" p.60

Pinning the Tail on the Beast p.60

The Burning Question Today is... p.76

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(*continued from page 59*)

how tempting the bargain and how unwillingly we accept it, simply becomes the starting point for negotiations tomorrow.

What Was Bob Dole Doing?

Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole of Kansas has a demonstrated ability to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory. His legislative strategy on the Brady bill has perplexed political experts from coast to coast.

Remember the political climate. On November 2, 1993, anti-gun politicians were bounced in both New Jersey and Virginia. These pro-Second Amendment victories seemed to put the chill on gun control. Yet the U.S. Senate passed a ban on certain rifles and shotguns, a ban on magazines of over ten rounds capacity, and agreed to a waiting period — all in the same month as those elections. How did this happen?

To the astonishment of most experts, Bob Dole and his fellow Republicans agreed to hurry up procedures for considering all the gun control bills. Opportunities to filibuster legislation were mostly avoided. Had senators been allowed to offer amendments on issues that the anti-gun lobby hates — like establishing a death penalty in Washington, DC — important gun control bills could have been blocked, or at least slowed down. According to the Associated Press, Dole was willing to prevent "some Republican senators [from] keep[ing] open the option of filibustering Brady." Every delay works to our advantage — yet our side was not delaying matters. Many of these opportunities were lost by unanimous consent. Had Senator Dole, or any other senator, really wished to stop the gun control express, all it would have taken was their one "no" vote.

Yet even when Second Amendment allies in the Senate were finally allowed to filibuster and won on Brady twice (November 19th), Dole was already reportedly willing to negotiate on November 20th. A virtually dead Brady bill was suddenly revived.

During the critical November 20th-21st period, what was Bob Dole actually saying? According to the *New York Times* of November 22nd, he said: "Let's get the best deal we can and move on." Thus, when the Senate finally passed the Brady bill (by unanimous consent), just three senators were on the floor. An objection by any one of those present, or an objection by any other senator who bothered to show up, would have defeated the Brady bill until at least after Thanksgiving, and quite possibly for the year. Yet no one objected. It seemed as though Bob Dole's "best deal" plan had become both Senate and NRA policy.

There were two major flaws with this approach. First, Second Amendment advocates who fought waiting periods (and won) in places like Texas and Arkansas found their victories snatched away in Washington. Alienating hard-working allies at the state and local level is not good politics. Second, had the Brady bill been delayed, Congress would have been dealing with it this year. Instead, Congress has plenty of time (and a new year) to debate a boatload of other anti-gun bills.

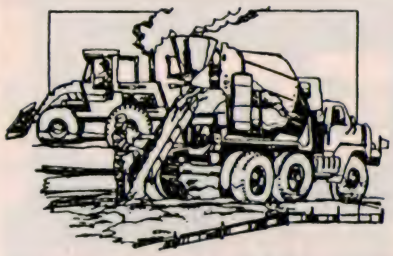
Some will argue that we did get a commitment to a vote on changes in the Brady law in 1994 from George Mitchell. But according to the *Congressional Record*, Mitchell made no promises except that a vote could occur:

> We have just now ended a lengthy filibuster, and the price of ending the filibuster was that we had to agree to bring up a bill and not filibuster it.... I want to make clear to the Republican leader that he has not asked for nor have we given an agreement or a commitment to support the measure.

All we needed were 40 votes to kill the Brady bill. Instead, Bob Dole traded that opportunity for the chance to get 51 votes to change Brady later. Anyone who can count votes knows that 40 votes are easier to get than 51. But that was the compromise.

Learning From the Past

A fundamental right guaranteed by the Constitution has suffered great damage. Our so-called allies seemed more concerned with preventing legislative gridlock than in protecting our liberties. Some people think that no one can be held responsible. I say, let us learn from our mistakes, and let us not forget how they were made and by whom. For to forget history is to be compelled to repeat it. ■



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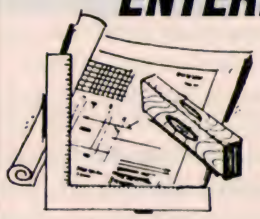

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Centralizing Law Enforcement

The cumulative experience of totalitarianism — the gulags and gas chambers, the arbitrary arrests and summary executions — can be summed up in the chilling phrase "police state." Americans, who have long looked upon the police as a benevolent force for order, may find it difficult to imagine the horrors that have descended upon altogether too many societies. But should Americans relinquish the constitutional principles upon which their liberties depend, they will find that they enjoy no special immunity to the totalitarian plague that has wrought such horrors in this bloody century.

Every tyrannical government relies on centralized, unaccountable police power to enforce its dictates. Although America's Founding Fathers were not familiar with modern totalitarianism, they were imbued with a deep distrust of concentrated political power. Accordingly, the Constitution they devised serves as an "anti-trust act for government"; by designing institutions that diffuse political power, the Founders sought to prevent the consolidation of authority in a remote government that would ruthlessly impose its will. Regrettably, America's apostasy from constitutional principles has abetted the growth of centralized, politicized law enforcement — a development that portends the extinction of liberty.

AP/Wide World photo

Every tyrannical government relies on centralized, unaccountable police power to enforce its authority

The American Concept

In *Federalist* essay number 45, James Madison set forth the principle that "The powers delegated by the ... Constitution to the federal government are few and well defined. Those which are to remain in the State governments are numerous and indefinite.... The powers reserved to the several States will extend to all the objects which, in the ordinary course of affairs, concern the lives, liberties, and properties of the people, and the *internal order*, improvement, and prosperity of the state" (emphasis added). The police power — that is, the regulation of the "internal order" of communities — was therefore among the "unenumerated powers" reserved to the states and the people.

This state of affairs prevailed as late as 1945. In the majority opinion delivered in the 1945 Supreme Court decision *Screws v. U.S.*, Justice William O. Douglas wrote, "Our national government is one of delegated powers alone. Under our federal system the administration of criminal justice rests with the states except as Congress, acting within the scope of those delegated powers, has created offenses against the United States." A dissenting opinion in the same case concurred with Douglas' analysis, noting that "to have provided for the national government to take over the administration of criminal justice from the states ... would have constituted a break with the past overnight."

That "break with the past" has come not through a sudden revolution, but rather as a product of patient, persistent gradualism. Using a legal doctrine called "incorporation," federal courts have employed the 14th Amendment to assert federal jurisdiction in state and local affairs, particularly in matters of law enforcement and civil rights.

By shackling state and local police, the courts have contributed to the growth of violent crime while allowing police powers to accumulate at the federal level, where those powers are deployed by political elites who are not directly accountable to the citizenry. Although the "incorporation" doctrine has been justified in the name of protecting the civil rights of individuals against corrupt local authorities, that doctrine has been used to remove the impediments to the direct exercise of federal power upon the individual. By routing local and state police authorities, the federal government has hastened the day when the embattled individual stands naked before the power of the central government — a terrifying prospect to those with a sense of history.

Capitalizing on a "Crisis"

Although Germany's Nazi (National Socialist) Party was a collection of squalid criminals, it found favor with the German public by promising "law and order." On February 27, 1933 (shortly after Hitler became chancellor), the Reichstag building was set afire. Although it was (and remains) unclear whether the fire was set by a communist saboteur or a Nazi *agent provocateur*, the Nazis capitalized upon the incident. Insisting that the Reichstag fire prefigured a communist onslaught against the German state, Hitler persuaded President Hindenburg to sign an emergency decree suspending constitutional liberties and allowing the state to exercise extraordinary powers in the name of "public safety."

Hitler and his comrades cultivated the impression that Germany was undergoing a crisis of criminality. As a remedy for the supposed crisis, Hitler proposed a program of *Gleichschaltung* (coordination or synchronization), through which the central government would absorb the power and political functions of

the German states. On March 23, 1933, the Reichstag passed the "Enabling Act" (also called the "Law for Removing the Distress of People and Reich"), which made the central government responsible for all law enforcement in the German Reich. Hitler sought to placate critics of the measure by issuing assurances that this enrichment of the state's power would not lead to abuses:

> The government will make use of these powers only insofar as they are essential for carrying out vitally necessary measures.... The separate existence of the federal states will not be done away.... The number of cases in which an internal necessity exists for having recourse to such a law is in itself a limited one.

Of course, these assurances were utterly useless. Leftist historian William Shirer pointed out, "It was this Enabling Act alone which formed the legal basis for Hitler's dictatorship. From March 23, 1933 ... Hitler was the dictator of the Reich, freed of any restraint by Parliament" or the country's constitution. With astonishing efficiency, the Nazi state devoured the legal and constitutional authorities of all intermediate governments in Germany. As Shirer noted, within a short time the Nazi Party formalized the completion of a unified police state:

> ... on June 16, 1936, for the first time in German history, a unified police was established for the whole of the Reich — previously the police had been organized separately by each of the states — and Himmler was put in charge as Chief of the German Police. This was tantamount to putting the police in the hands of the S.S., which since its suppression of the Roehm "revolt" in 1934 had been rapidly increasing its power.... The Third Reich, as is inevitable in the development of all totalitarian dictatorships, had become a police state.

Hitler's National Socialist police state was indebted to the pioneering work of Lenin's communist regime. On December 20, 1917, the Soviet government created the "All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-revolution and Sabotage," or Cheka, and appointed Feliks Dzerzhinsky, a man of singular ruthlessness, as its head. Notes historian John Barron, "Formation of the Cheka was not accompanied by any announcement of its powers and purposes" — that is, the body was given unspecified and unsupervised powers. On February 6, 1922, the body was renamed the GPU (State Political Directorate) and placed under the authority of the NKVD, or "People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs," which also controlled the conventional police.

When the Soviet republics were consolidated into a socialist "union" in 1923, the GPU was detached from the NKVP and renamed the OGPU, or "Unified Political Directorate." In 1954, after enduring several more permutations, the body acquired its most familiar name, the KGB. However the body was named, it was the Soviet Union's presiding law enforcement agency, consolidating police and intelligence functions and serving the political will of Moscow.

Ominous Parallels

Despite the fact that there was an actual decline in the rate of violent crime in 1993, the American public has been told that the crime "crisis" is America's top domestic priority. High profile criminal atrocities, such as the Long Island commuter train shooting, are quickly seized upon by those anxious to find an event that will persuade the public that freedoms must be surrendered in the interests of "order."

The Omnibus Crime Control Act could be considered Bill Clinton's "Enabling Act." The measure would extend federal jurisdiction to cover scores of crimes that have traditionally been within the purview of state and local authorities. The most ominous feature of the measure is Section 1121, which would create a 100,000-man national Police Corps under the supervision of a director appointed by the President. Although Police Corps officers would be attached to existing state and local police agencies, they would be accountable to the federal government — not to the communities in which they would be assigned.

Furthermore, the program would increase federal regulation of state and local police agencies and increase their dependence upon financial subsidies from Washington. In a fashion reminiscent of Hitler's empty promises that his government would respect the prerogatives of individual German states, the Clinton Administration is emitting assurances that the enlargement of the federal government's powers under the crime bill would not lead to abuses, but rather to an enhanced state/federal "partnership" in fighting crime.

That "partnership" began last summer when Congress passed a measure appropriating $150 million to be dispensed as "community policing" grants. Although this sum is relatively modest, it will whet the appetite of state and local officials for greater federal subsidies and help generate support for the passage of the Omnibus Crime Control Act.

Since December 20th, 107 American cities have received federal "community policing" grants. The subsidies were announced in White House conference calls during which the President, in the manner of an Oriental potentate, invited the recipients to express awestruck gratitude. Those not favored with federal funds received this invitation at the end of the February 9th conference call: "To all those hundreds of communities who have applied for these grants who haven't been given funds ... that's why we need to pass the crime bill." Mr. Clinton's strategy is to use the pleas of fiscally overextended state and municipal leaders to sell the crime bill to Congress and the public. It should be remembered that with federal funding comes federal control.

ReGo and the KGB

The crime bill is not the only avenue through which the Administration seeks to nationalize law enforcement. On September 7, 1993, Vice President Al Gore published the final report of his National Performance Review task force (known as the "Reinventing Government" task force or ReGo). Among the proposals made by the task force was the designation of "the Attorney General as the Director of Law Enforcement to coordinate federal law enforcement efforts" and unspecified changes in "the alignment of federal law enforcement responsibilities."

A report carried by Scripps Howard News Service issued just prior to ReGo's publication offered a more in-depth description of the proposal's im-

plications: "All federal law enforcement activities would be moved into the Justice Department under the control of the Attorney General.... The proposal would bring under a single federal umbrella most existing federal law agencies, including the FBI; Drug Enforcement Administration; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; Secret Service; Internal Revenue Service and Postal Service." This mega-police agency would be governed by a Stalinesque "Directorate of Central Law Enforcement" headed by the Attorney General.

Even more ominously, notes the wire service article, "The plan, which would dramatically centralize federal law enforcement powers, suggests the new directorate could be modeled after the CIA director's organizational structure. The attorney general would serve dual roles — one as head of the Justice Department and the other as leader of the entire U.S. law enforcement community." Significantly, Janet Reno has spoken favorably of greater collaboration between law enforcement and intelligence bodies. In a November 19th speech to the American Bar Association's "Law and National Security Breakfast," she asserted that it is "critically important ... for the intelligence community to come together with law enforcement," particularly regarding "strategic planning" of both foreign and domestic initiatives. If implemented, the ReGo proposal would make Janet Reno (and each of her successors) the institutional descendant of Heinrich Himmler and Feliks Dzerzhinsky.

Soldiers in the Streets

In a fashion similar to that displayed by the Nazis following the Reichstag fire, Establishment figures are preparing the public for extraordinary impositions upon individual rights. Adam Walinsky (CFR), a former top adviser to the late Robert F. Kennedy, said in an early 1993 interview that violent crime had created "the most serious threat domestically that the country has faced since the Civil War." During the Civil War, it will be recalled, President Lincoln suspended habeas corpus, placed severe restrictions upon the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment, and enacted many fundamental changes in America's political system by presidential ukase. Walinsky suggested that the national police corps may presage a more general mobilization in the war against crime — a prospect that has been entertained with increasing frequency by public figures.

During the Los Angeles riots in 1992, many of the activists who had condemned the supposed abuses of the Los Angeles Police Department openly invited intervention by federal troops in order to restore order. Two days after the riot began, President George Bush dispatched 4,000 troops of the 7th Infantry and 1,000 heavily armed federal police to Los Angeles. Mr. Bush also federalized the California National Guard and placed it at the disposal of General Colin Powell, then head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. These decisions received an enthusiastic endorsement from many of the same civil rights leaders who had condemned the LAPD as a racist and abusive entity.

William F. Jasper

President Bush dispatched 4,000 federal troops and 1,000 federal police to the streets of LA during the 1992 riots

One of the LAPD's most indefatigable critics is city council member Zev Yaroslavsky. During a cable television interview last September, Yaroslavsky invited the federal government to send military forces into Los Angeles in a UN-style "peacekeeping" mission:

> You know, when George Bush sent the Marines into Mogadishu [Somalia], he explained that the reason for sending in the military was the following: We want to restore normalcy. Bands of marauding gangs are making it impossible for the people of Somalia to carry on their business. He could have been talking about Los Angeles.
>
> I don't know what our Army is doing that is so important ... but perhaps we can bring some of those folks in and relieve some of our [police] officers.... And perhaps we can even use some of the military to assist in providing greater security to our community.

A deployment similar to that suggested by Yaroslavsky has already taken place. Last October in Puerto Rico, National Guard units were assigned to perform routine law enforcement duties alongside the police, the first time that military personnel have been put to such use on U.S. soil since America achieved independence from Great Britain. In Washington, DC (like Puerto Rico, another jurisdiction in which the Welfare State has incubated a virulent strain of violent crime), links are being established between local police and the military. According to the October 12, 1993 *Washington Times*, DC Metropolitan Police Chief Fred Thomas has "moved his department closer to militarized training with the announcement of a program for police recruits at the U.S. Marine Corps base in Quantico, Va."

The Global Gulag

Steadily but unobtrusively, the groundwork is being laid for the construction of a global police state. On February 2nd the Senate approved a State Department appropriations measure that contained a "sense of Congress" resolution supporting "the establishment of an International Court with jurisdiction over crimes of an international character...." This court would be created by the UN and have concurrent jurisdiction with national courts in countries that have ratified UN treaties. It would have the power to order extraditions of those identified as suspects by the "international community" or try and convict such individuals *in absentia*. The Senate rejected the arguments of Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) that such a body would eventually be used to "try indi-

viduals, including Americans, for such vague crimes as 'colonialism' or 'environmental crimes.' These crimes and these cases would be tried before judges who could be from North Korea, Cuba, or other unfriendly places."

Most American law enforcement personnel retain a different perspective on the source of the law's authority; accordingly, they would have compunctions about seizing their countrymen and delivering them into the custody of a foreign court. For this reason it is significant that a cryptic provision of the Omnibus Crime Control Act appears to foreshadow the use of foreigners as federal police. According to Section 5108 of the measure:

> Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Attorney General, in concert with the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Agency, the Commissioner of the Customs Service, shall report to Congress and the President on efforts made, and the success of such efforts, to recruit and hire former Royal Hong Kong Police officers into Federal law enforcement positions. The report shall discuss any legal or administrative barriers preventing a program of adequate recruitment of former Royal Hong Kong Police officers.

This provision is pregnant with dreadful possibilities. Once the precedent is established for the recruitment of foreigners to serve in federal law enforcement positions, Washington could recruit veterans of the Soviet KGB or the Cuban or East German secret police to serve in the national police corps; after all, such individuals would be superbly qualified for the job.

"Peacekeepers" in the U.S.?

Section 5108 could also lay the groundwork for the eventual deployment of multinational UN "peacekeeping" troops within America's borders — a possibility that is now being spoken of openly.

In remarks made during the May 4, 1992 *Larry King Live* program on CNN, Michael McGee of the Black Panther Militia predicted that "armed insurrection" in America would lead to UN intervention: "You've ... got to remember that if the UN could go into Beirut, if they can go into Lebanon, if they go into Iraq, eventually the UN, I think, is going to have to come in here, because what I'm talking about organizing is something that's going to be called urban guerilla warfare. It's something that's not going to be fought like a riot."

McGee's comments may be dismissed by some as the ranting of a marginalized malcontent. However, his theme has been embraced by at least one "respectable" social commentator.

Milwaukee Journal photo

McGee warned of urban guerilla warfare that would require UN intervention

Syndicated columnist Bob Greene offered the following thoughts in the September 29th *Chicago Tribune*:

> The United Nations currently has multinational peacekeeping troops stationed in 14 countries around the world. The precise missions vary, but they all have one thing in common: The international soldiers are there to help bring tranquility and safety to places that can't do so on their own. So perhaps there is one more place where a UN multinational force is desperately needed: The United States.
>
> Preposterous? Maybe not. Maybe it is an issue for the 184 member nations of the UN to discuss. Sending soldiers from around the world onto the streets of our own country? We probably haven't come to the point where we need such an action yet, but we're veering perilously close.

Treasonous actions of our elected representatives have indeed brought us "perilously close" to occupation by UN troops. On September 12, 1990, the UN General Assembly declared its intention to seek the incorporation of international law into local law. On April 2, 1992, the Senate acted to facilitate the General Assembly's wishes by ratifying the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, a legal instrument which (if implemented) would subject the God-given liberties of Americans to UN-defined limitations. In order to assuage critics of the measure, the Senate attached a series of "reservations" to the Covenant. However, one of those "reservations" actually creates greater danger for constitutional liberty:

> ... the United States understands that this Covenant shall be implemented by the Federal Government to the extent that it exercises legislative and judicial jurisdiction over the matters covered therein, and otherwise by the state and local governments; to the extent that state and local governments exercise jurisdiction over such matters, the Federal Government shall take measures appropriate to the Federal system to the end that the competent authorities of the state or local governments may take appropriate measures for the fulfillment of the Covenant.

That is to say that as law enforcement is *federalized* through the crime bill, it would simultaneously be *globalized*. The embryonic federal police state is to be an affiliate of the global police state, as will whatever vestigial state and local police agencies that remain.

The imposition of a police state represents the ultimate triumph of criminality. Perhaps this is why there is such affinity between the street criminals who prey upon the law-abiding and the political criminals who seek total power. It is certain that the best defense against criminals in both high and low places can be found in strong, effective, independent, *local* police — and an armed, responsible citizenry. ■

— William Norman Grigg

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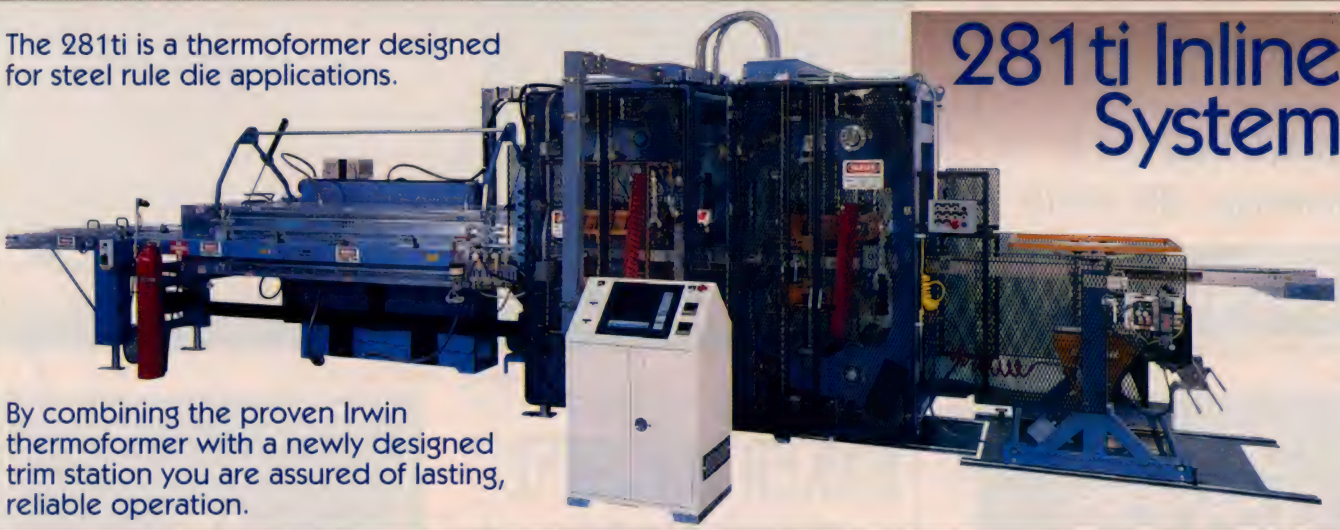

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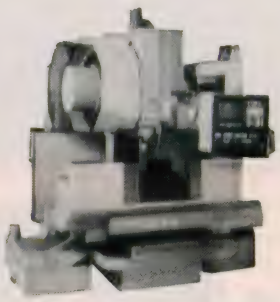

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Redefining "Law and Order"

AP/Wide World photo

The federal government's assault on the Branch Davidian compound suggests a totalitarian concept of deterrence — killing a few people to keep the rest in line

Americans anxious to preserve their liberties can gauge our country's descent into a police state by pondering these questions: To what extent has "law and order" been defined as controlling people rather than protecting their rights and property? To what extent is law enforcement pre-occupied with "political" crimes rather than offenses against individuals? How much does the state rely upon anonymous informants or concealed agents to monitor citizens? And, perhaps most importantly, to what extent do peaceful, moral citizens live in fear of the state's police power?

In a free society, such as that created by America's Founding Fathers, the laws are relatively few and easily understood, and their intrusion into the daily life of the individual is minimal. James Madison summarized the traditional American perspective on law and order: "We have staked the future of all of our political institutions on the capacity of mankind for self-government; upon the capacity of each and all of us to govern ourselves, to control ourselves, to sustain ourselves according to the Ten Commandments of God."

In a totalitarian police state, by way of contrast, the citizen exists to serve purposes designated by the state. In such a society, laws are plentiful and frequently unintelligible, and the state can intervene at whim into a person's private affairs. The individual is governed, controlled, and sustained by the state, and government — not God — is viewed as the source of ultimate authority. Accordingly, the proliferation of complex, intrusive laws is one symptom of a society about to become shackled by a police state.

A Niagara of Laws

When Hitler's party came to power in Germany, it immediately produced what leftist historian William Shirer called a "Niagara of thousands of special decrees and laws." So recondite were the new rules and regulations that "even the most astute businessman was often lost, and special lawyers had to be employed to enable the firm to function." German citizens were hard-pressed to learn all of the laws, let alone obey them. A similar state of affairs is developing in contemporary America.

A front page article in the March 12, 1993 *Wall Street Journal* declared, "We are a nation of lawbreakers.... Nearly all people violate some laws, and many people run afoul of dozens of others without ever being considered, or considering themselves, to be lawbreakers." Accordingly, Americans are left in a state of perpetual concern for their freedom, as "laws that are often broken with impunity make it difficult for people to predict the consequences of their acts."

Noted the *Journal*, "Some people who deal with serious crime [contend] that routine, non-violent infractions are too trivial to worry about in a nation threatened by murder, rape, armed robbery, gang warfare," and other genuinely serious offenses. A government that invests its time and resources enforcing laws and regulations against peaceful, productive citizens cannot adequately protect those citizens from genuine criminals; furthermore, it is much easier for the state to oppress the peaceful and law-abiding than to pursue and apprehend actual criminals. Accordingly, the tangle of laws offers the state myriad opportunities to invade the privacy of citizens and violate their rights on the pretext that such actions are justified in the name of "law enforcement."

"Warning Shots"

Because the laws they enforce are not rooted in principle, police states must maintain order through intimidation — a principle highlighted by a line immortalized by Russian comedian Yakov Smirnoff. When asked what he found most attractive about America, Smirnoff replied, "I like the fact that American police fire warning shots. In Russia they just shoot the fugitive and consider that a warning for the next guy." This is the totalitarian concept of deterrence — killing a few people to keep the rest in line.

The federal government's deadly raid upon Waco's Branch Davidian community represents a "warning shot" in the Soviet sense. When the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (an organization for which the Constitution provides no authority) raided the Davidian compound on February 28, 1993, its stated purpose was to serve a

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warrant upon David Koresh for unspecified violations of technical weapons regulations. However, as San Antonio attorney Egon Richard Tausch points out, during the opening volley of the ATF raid, "No one approached the door. There was no ATF sound truck or bullhorn announcing a warrant, not to mention a simple cellular phone call to the complex." Four ATF officers and six Davidian members were killed in the initial exchange, creating conditions for the 51-day siege that ended in the deaths of more than 80 people.

The Davidians who survived the federal attack were arrested, compelled to undergo "exit therapy," and placed on trial for conspiracy to murder federal agents. Although the force used against the peaceful Davidians greatly exceeded that used by LAPD officers to subdue the violent recidivist Rodney King, no civil rights charges have been brought against the ATF agents who executed the raid or the political appointees who ordered it. On February 26th, a Texas jury acquitted the surviving Davidians of the murder charge, but convicted five of them of voluntary manslaughter and two others on weapons charges. Attorney General Janet Reno, who ordered the final, bloody raid on April 19th, claimed that the split decision vindicated the government's actions.

The government's approach to the Waco confrontation — shoot in haste and invent a justification at leisure — is that of the police state. Once the precipitate assault on the sect had resulted in deaths, the government claimed that those deaths justified the raid, in spite of the fact that the raid had *caused* those deaths. In an affidavit filed to request a federal warrant after the raid had begun, the ATF sought to extend its jurisdiction to include the regulation of political opinions. It explained that an ATF informant among Koresh's followers had reported that Koresh "espouses certain doctrine hostile to law enforcement and particularly the ATF" and that he "had videotapes and other commercially-produced material which are critical of firearms law enforcement...." The agency requested permission to seize any evidence it could find regarding the expression of such impermissible thoughts.

During the trial of the 11 survivors, the prosecution was allowed to examine the religious beliefs of the Davidians as evidence of their criminality. Assistant

Reno announced the creation of federal "strike force" squads

U.S. Attorney Bill Johnson accused the Davidians of "sacrilege"; other attorneys for the prosecution depicted the Davidians as "secessionists" who sought to make war upon the United States. However, the prosecution spoke not a syllable regarding the child abuse allegations invoked by Attorney General Janet Reno and President Clinton to justify the final assault on the Waco compound.

Far from being chastened by the bloodletting in Waco, the Clinton Administration and the ATF have signaled their willingness to conduct similar operations in the future. Speaking immediately after the tragedy, President Clinton chose to depict the event as an object lesson: "I hope very much that others who will be tempted to join cults and become involved with people like Koresh will be deterred by the horrible scenes they have seen.... There is, unfortunately, a rise in this sort of fanaticism all over the world. And we may have to confront it again." Apparently, Waco was a Soviet-style warning shot for practitioners of politically incorrect religions.

The ATF appears ready and willing to pull the trigger again. On October 22, 1993, ATF director John Magaw told the House Appropriations Subcommittee that "the raid on the Branch Davidian complex may be a unique event, but we are aware of similar groups and situations in other places." According to the November 2nd *Washington Times,* Magaw "is determined that other religious cults will not develop into armed compounds the way the Branch Davidians did in Waco, Texas." "They're out there," said Magaw. "They don't yet have the kind of weaponry that we saw in Waco ... but they will develop if society allows them to."

Plundering Assets

The Waco raid is not unique in recent American history. On October 2, 1992, a small army of law enforcement personnel descended on the Malibu ranch of multimillionaire Donald Scott, barging into his home without identifying themselves as law enforcement officials. When Scott pulled a weapon to defend himself against the unidentified armed intruders, he was shot dead. In March 1993, Ventura County District Attorney Michael Bradbury published a report finding that the fatal raid had been "motivated, at least in part, by a desire to seize and forfeit the ranch for the government." The federal government had coveted Scott's ranch for use in an expansion of the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area.

Through the doctrine of "civil forfeiture," which was developed primarily as a tool to use in the "War on Drugs," law enforcement agencies can seize properties suspected of some involvement in a crime. Under the Comprehensive Forfeiture Act of 1984, government agencies need not even allege that property owners are guilty of wrongdoing; forfeiture acts "in rem" — meaning that the property itself is found guilty of a crime. As the *Pittsburgh Press* reported on February 27, 1991, "eighty percent of the people who [have] lost property to the federal government were never charged. And most of the seized items weren't the luxurious playthings of drug barons, but modest homes and simple cars and hard-earned savings of ordinary people."

Many of those whose assets have been seized were identified by informants who stand to benefit materially from forfeitures. In 1990, the Justice Department's Asset Forfeiture Fund doled out $24 million to informants as their share in the forfeiture take. Notes the *Pittsburgh Press*, "Under federal and most states' laws, forfeiture proceeds return to the law enforcement

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agency that builds the case [using the seized property as evidence]. Those agencies also control the rewards of informants. The arrangement means both police and the informants on whom they rely now have a financial incentive to seize a person's goods...."

Writing in the July 1993 issue of *The Freeman*, Jarret B. Wollstein warns: "Thousands of innocent Americans are losing their cars, homes, bank accounts, and businesses based upon the claims of unidentified informants that illegal transactions took place on their property." Additionally, "Police, DEA and FBI forfeiture squads are being created." Furthermore, on March 1st, Attorney General Janet Reno announced the creation of a "National Anti-Violent Crime Initiative" that would create "strike force teams" of federal, state, and local law enforcement agents — creating on a national scale raiding parties similar to the one that slaughtered Donald Scott in his own living room.

"Green Police"

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is also branching out into armed enforcement. In 1990 the EPA received congressional authorization to increase its stable of "special agents" from 55 in 1991 to 250 in 1995; with increasing frequency those agents are armed and conduct full-force raids in concert with other federal law enforcement agents.

According to the January 17th issue of the *Waste Tech News*, 1993 was a record enforcement year for the EPA. The agency was involved in 2,110 enforcement actions, an increase of 31 percent over the previous year. Criminal charges were brought against 161 individuals, resulting in 135 convictions and a total of 943 months' of prison time. The agency also imposed a total of $133 million in criminal fines and civil penalties against those who ran afoul of the agency's arbitrary, scientifically untenable dictates.

According to environmental journalist Steve Waldman, a sizable portion of the fines assessed by the EPA were intended to "recapture the money environmental violators potentially save"; furthermore, "the EPA increasingly is requiring defendants to change the way they do business through environmental reforms such as management training, environmental audits and long-term waste minimization programs." Thus, without constitutional or legislative authority, the Green Gestapo can seize control of a business — or private property — at whim.

Eco-bureaucrats have also been known to impose medieval punishments upon eco-infidels. Last spring, Texas resident Marinus Van Leuzen was summoned before a branch of the EPA's Holy Office to answer for his "crimes against the earth." Van Leuzen had been accused of "disturbing wetlands" by making improvements upon his own property. The cut-rate Torquemada before whom Van Leuzen was arraigned was a Reagan-appointed federal judge named Sam Kent. Because Van Leuzen offered an unrepentant defense of private property rights, Judge Kent elected to make Van Leuzen's punishment an example to other eco-heretics.

In addition to fines and forced "restoration" of the property, Van Leuzen was compelled to erect — on his own property, at his own expense, under penalty of contempt — a billboard informing all that he is an environmental criminal. In his decision, Kent offered praise for his own wisdom and ritual condemnation of the heretic, declaring that Van Leuzen displayed "an environmental insensitivity that will, if unchecked, kill all of us.... The lesson of this case must not be lost on anyone. Environmental rape threatens the very life of America, and this court stands vigilant at the only gate to the future, for all of us."

Under FACE, pro-life "rescuers" who block access to an abortion clinic would be committing a federal offense

Policing the Home

Agents of the contemporary American state scoff at the traditional sanctity of the home. Speaking at last year's National Sheriff's Association convention in Salt Lake City, Janet Reno suggested the creation of community outreach teams composed of "community-friendly, highly respected police officers, social workers, [and] public health nurses" who would pry open the doors of homes that have been kept closed to agents of the state. Reno offered the same suggestion during a Los Angeles police conference last April, along with criticism of those who resist the entreaties of the state: "They sit behind doors and they glare at officialdom in whatever its form.... They won't come out. They won't bring their child to the clinic five houses away because they are suspicious and unbelieving that government really cares." Because local law enforcement officials are known and trusted by the citizens they serve, Reno considers them valuable in the effort to extend the state's therapeutic authority.

In the name of combating child abuse, thousands of parents are abused each year by agents of the therapeutic state. Douglas Besharov, former director of the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, reports that "about 60 percent of all [child abuse] reports prove to be unfounded." This analysis is confirmed by the Department of Health and Human Services, which concedes that two-thirds of the 2.7 million reports made in 1990 were unreliable. Many, perhaps most, of those reports were anonymous "hot-line" tips. Like random tax audits, child abuse investigations are

often used to keep the population docile.

Nearly any parental behavior can be classified as abuse, and the state labors constantly to find new rationales for intervention. The October 25, 1993 issue of *Time* magazine reported that parents who smoke at home may soon find themselves branded as child abusers. Attorney John F. Banzhaff III, a liberal activist, contends that "parents exposing their children to second-hand smoke is the most common form of child abuse in America." This claim may prove irresistible to three key Clinton Administration officials: Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders and FDA Administrator David Kessler, who have expressed an ambition to eradicate smoking; and Janet Reno, described by professional acquaintances as a "fanatic" regarding child abuse. Thomas Harvey Holt of the Capital Research Center warns, "Smokers may soon find social service agents on their doorsteps, asking, 'May I come in and make sure there are no cigarettes, cigars or pipes on your premises?'"

The Omnibus Crime Control Act would federalize child abuse and other forms of domestic violence. It would appoint a "National Commission on Violence Against Women" that would be more properly called the "full employment for feminist ideologues" provision. This section of the bill would empower Janet Reno to appoint a federal commission to evaluate "the adequacy of, and make recommendations regarding, current law enforcement efforts at the Federal and State levels to reduce the rate of violent crimes against women...." In addition to federalizing an admittedly heinous crime that is best dealt with at the state and local levels, this portion of the bill would offer carte blanche to feminist social engineers.

Thought Crimes

With the passage of the Hate Crimes Statistics Act in 1990, the state asserted jurisdiction over the individual conscience. That measure authorized the federal government to tabulate crimes supposedly based upon race, religion, national origin, and "sexual orientation." Critics of the measure predicted that it would lead to inequities in punishment, with those who commit crimes against preferred "victim groups" being punished more severely than those who prey upon "ordinary" citizens — a prediction that was vindicated by last fall's introduction of the "Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act."

The Hate Crimes concept sanctions government involvement in attitude control. The Freedom of Access to Clinics Act (FACE) represents a federal effort to suppress politically incorrect protest — specifically, pro-life protests in front of abortion clinics. Under the measure, pro-life activists who obstruct entrance to an abortion clinic are guilty of a federal offense; however, unionized employees of an abortion clinic can create a similar obstruction during a wage dispute without violating the law. In what may be a foretaste of future federal policy, Indiana District Court Judge Bernard Carter sentenced 14 pro-life activists to attend pro-abortion re-education sessions as punishment for trespassing on clinic grounds during a protest.

The Justice Department has sought to administer attitude adjustment upon a Mississippi community that rejects the politically correct perspective on homosexual "rights." On February 18th, Janet Reno granted the wishes of the "Gay Rights" lobby by dispatching representatives of the Justice Department's Community Relations Service (CRS) to Ovett, Mississippi to "mediate" between the Christian residents of that tiny town and the inhabitants of "Camp Sister Spirit," a lesbian enclave that received federal taxpayer funds. Prior to that decision, the "anti-Gay" sentiments expressed by Ovett residents had prompted Reno to instruct the FBI to "monitor" the community. Reacting to Reno's decision, a Camp Sister Spirit spokeswoman declared, "I'm just overwhelmed and thrilled.... Now the Justice Department will try to find some common ground between us and the idiots." The CRS has no legal jurisdiction to deal with matters of "sexual orientation"; however, a police state enjoys the privilege of making up its own rules.

The abuses of power committed by federal authorities from Waco to Ovett illustrate the dangers of federalizing law enforcement. By authorizing federal involvement in nearly every legal question, passage of the Omnibus Crime Control Act would sow the seeds of numerous similar abuses and leave embattled Americans with little if any recourse — a situation familiar to the hapless subjects of police states throughout history. ■

— William Norman Grigg

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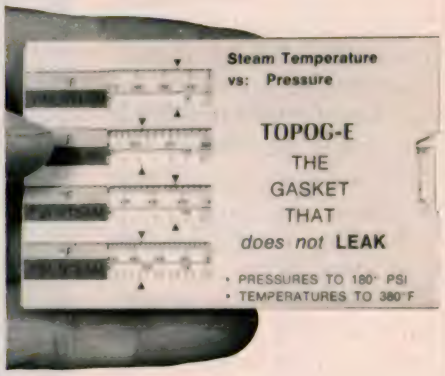

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"New World Army"

The grand design behind U.S. foreign policy is to arm the United Nations, and simultaneously disarm the U.S. and other nations, so that no nation would be able to challenge the UN. So long as this design is being followed, we can expect more U.S. troops to be transferred to UN command. (Nov. 29, 1993, 52pp)

"The Resilient Earth"

We are moving closer to international regulation of the planet for the stated purpose of heading off environmental devastation. But no catastrophic environmental threat exists. And the real purpose behind the authoritarian environmental agenda is to shackle the planet, not save it. (Fall 1993 edition, 64pp)

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LAPD: Caught in the Line of Fire

The terrible Los Angeles riots of two years ago sounded a dread alarm that, tragically, has been largely forgotten. An even greater tragedy is that the alarm was never understood by most Americans.

The riots themselves have not been forgotten. The nightmarish images of a city aflame, a complete collapse of order, and riotous mobs engaged in a carnival-like atmosphere of looting and murderous mayhem remain lodged in the recesses of our collective consciousness and contribute to a general sense of unease, helplessness, and hopelessness about the future.

But the causes of the eruption elude our grasp; they are said to be the pent-up, disembodied social and economic forces resulting from institutionalized inequality, poverty, racism, and oppression — conditions that defy solution outside of a revolutionary restructuring of society.

The explosive Los Angeles riots of '92 were the result of planning and manipulation by Eastern Establishment elites, LA politicians, and Southern California revolutionaries

Top-Down Revolution

The *true* causes of the deadly conflagration that erupted on April 29, 1992, in the wake of the "Rodney King" verdict, are far less elusive than the nebulous demons offered above. The death and destruction visited upon the City of Angels came at the hand of *human* demons who still hold that community in their grip and who have the capacity and fiendish will to again plunge the metropolis into chaos at the "opportune" time. The street revolutionists who perpetrated these crimes and their cohorts in government and the media who egged them on are still in place, infesting the body politic and extorting concessions of power and pelf under the threat of a new wave of lethal anarchy.

But it is not Los Angeles alone that awaits such a fate. Remember, when LA exploded, similar sympathetic disorders and riots broke out "spontaneously" in Seattle, San Francisco, New York, Atlanta, Las Vegas, and other cities as well. These, likewise, can be touched off again in an instant. Which makes it all the more imperative that we understand the strategic roles played by individuals and organizations responsible for planning, setting up, and igniting the firestorm. Any careful study of the events will disclose that there was indeed a "method in the madness" — a design amidst the chaos. The Los Angeles explosion was the penultimate climax in a well-planned, escalating process that had been gathering force for several decades.

A close look at the political picture in Los Angeles reveals a long-standing and cozy networking relationship between key members of the Eastern Establishment power-elite from the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and Trilateral Commission (TC), Los Angeles politicians, and Southern California revolutionary activists. All of these elements came together in 1972 to elect Tom Bradley as mayor. Once in office, Bradley and company began a multi-pronged attack on the LAPD, the major city power base outside of their grasp and a major impediment to their radical (and illegal) plans for control. Using the favorite revolutionary strategy of "pressure from above and below," the Bradley machine held the LAPD and the people of Los Angeles in an ever-tightening vise for 20 years.

Leftist Network

Working hand in hand with Bradley (a member of both the CFR and TC) in this subversive power network have been city council members Zev Yaroslavsky, Michael Woo, and Mark Ridley-Thomas; Police Commission chairman and ACLU leader Stanley Sheinbaum (CFR); Congresswoman Maxine Waters; Insider attorney Warren Christopher (CFR/TC, and now Clinton's Secretary of State); city attorney Ira Reiner; the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and other "civil rights" groups; radical clergy from the First Unitarian Church, First AME Church, and other far-left congregations; the Hollywood left; and, perhaps most important of all, the *Los Angeles Times, New York Times*, and other organs of the CFR-dominated national power media. What most Americans have never read or seen reported in all of the "news" coverage of the Los Angeles turmoil — and may therefore find too incredible to believe — is the long-standing collaboration between these "liberals" and the radical revolutionists of the Communist Party USA, Revolutionary Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Commu-

nist Party Marxist-Leninist, Progressive Labor Party, the National Lawyers Guild, the People's College of Law, and the organized homosexual militants.

Time after time, the co-conspirators in this network focused their combined attacks on the LAPD in the "pressure from above and below" strategy to: cut the department's funding; decrease the number of officers even as the general population was rapidly multiplying and both the foreign and home-grown criminal elements were exploding; put increasingly debilitating restrictions on the police; force the department to lower its physical, academic, and moral standards; portray the force as racist, sexist, violent, corrupt, and inept; give prominent coverage to every charge of abuse leveled against the department by criminals, agitators, and malcontents; destroy police intelligence capabilities; establish a communist-style "civilian review board" through which the radicals could hamstring the police; destroy the department's civil service system; and create a pretext for federal intervention in local law enforcement.

Model Force

Unfortunately, all too often the conspirators won. As LAPD Commander Larry Fetters explained to THE NEW AMERICAN in May 1992, the LAPD's budget for that year ($533 million out of a total city budget of $3.8 billion) was "per capita the lowest budget of any police force in America." Due to budget cuts, in the year leading up to the riots, the department lost nearly 500 officers through attrition, stretching the already overwhelmed force to the breaking point. Los Angeles covers an area twice that of Chicago and has a population of at least a half million more. Yet, at the time of the riots, LA had less than 7,800 officers, compared to Chicago's 12,000.

Yet for all of these handicaps, the LAPD has been a model police force, respected and emulated worldwide for being innovative and efficient in fighting crime, and for remaining remarkably free of the corruption and scandal typical of most big city police forces. This was due in large measure to the rigid civil service system in which promotions were based on merit rather than political patronage. That system was destroyed with the political appointment (by Mayor Bradley and ACLU leader Stanley Sheinbaum) of Willie Williams as the replacement for Chief Daryl Gates, and the imposition of new hiring and promotion guidelines based on race, gender, sexual orientation, and political correctness.

Although undermanned, underfunded, and under siege (from both the criminals and the pro-criminal elements in City Hall and the media) the LAPD continued to function amazingly well from the 1960s on into the '90s, aggressively going after the bad guys and consistently keeping the serious crime rate in LA well below the other "Big Six" cities (New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Houston) and many smaller cities as well.

But most Americans don't know about any of those things; all they "know" about the LAPD is what they saw replayed again and again from the videotaped arrest of "motorist" Rodney King. King was no "motorist," but a violent, paroled felon who was out of prison after serving time for robbing a Korean merchant and beating him with a tire iron. He was stopped after trying to escape arrest for a felony crime and after leading a high-speed chase that menaced innocent people. His two passengers complied with police commands and were arrested without incident, but King, a huge and powerful man, forcefully resisted. His behavior and strength indicated that he was under the influence of drugs; tests later showed that his blood alcohol was twice the legal limit and that he had recently ingested marijuana. He easily shook off the four officers who tried to subdue him with the "swarm" technique and then, incredibly, absorbed a full 50,000 volts from a police taser — twice — and kept on coming!

But none of the aforementioned is known to most of the millions of television viewers who were repeatedly shown just 10 or 12 seconds of the now-famous 81-second video by George Holliday. What played tens of thousands of times on stations all over the country were short snippets showing the rain of baton blows by LAPD Officers Powell and Wind. Admittedly, it is not pretty to watch, but having been disallowed the use of the "choke hold" — the only thing other than a bullet likely to have succeeded in subduing King (but which had been outlawed by the "liberals") — and having tried everything else, the only options left to the officers were their batons — or their guns.

Campaign of Hate

The Rodney King video was the perfect vehicle that the media, the politicians, and the activists in the Bradley network had been seeking. With it, they unleashed a campaign of hate — against the LAPD, Chief Daryl Gates, and the officers involved in the King arrest — so unbelievably vicious and unfair that the riots which followed the acquittal of the officers were virtually guaranteed. On top of that, the police, who were already walking on eggs to avoid any situation that might be exploited as another example of "police brutality," were told by Mayor Bradley and City Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas not to respond with a show of force against the rioters, as that would only provoke more violence. Deputy Chiefs Parks and Hunt listened to that counsel, rather than following the department's regular riot procedure, with the result that their sections of the city went out of control. Then Bradley and company turned around and accused the police of failing to use sufficient force against the rioters.

According to LAPD members interviewed by THE NEW AMERICAN, Los Angeles' new mayor, Richard Riordan, represents a marked improvement over the Bradley regime, but he is not expected to be able to reverse the policies that continue to demoralize and cripple the department. Kevin Bearly, a former LAPD officer who has conducted an intensive study of the history of the department, told THE NEW AMERICAN: "In the Rodney King furor, the riots, and the aftermath we see the continuation of a carefully orchestrated, long-range campaign aimed at neutralizing the pro-active, aggressive, anti-criminal program of the LAPD — at a time when the criminal element is more savage and threatening than ever before. The ACLU feminists and homosexual activists have stepped up their lawsuits. The public is increasingly vulnerable and veteran officers have been leaving the force in record numbers." According to an LAPD spokesman, the department continues to dwindle and now has 300 fewer officers than it did before the riots.

Are more riots planned for our future? Unless the Establishment revolutionary incendiarists are routed from their positions of power in government and the media, you can be sure of it. ■

— WILLIAM F. JASPER

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Congressional Index

Key votes on crime, guns, and police

Following are seven House votes and eight Senate votes (page 82) which relate to firearms and crime issues. Each of the votes involve either more federal firearms controls or more federal (or international) controls on state and local law enforcement. In the index, a "Y" indicates that a representative or senator voted yea, an "N" indicates that he voted nay, and a "?" that he did not vote.

We encourage you to evaluate each issue carefully, to commend your legislators for votes which keep the federal government out of gun control and law enforcement, and to urge improvement where needed.

House Votes

(1) Federal Grants for Local Youth Gang Control Programs, H.R. 3353. This legislation would dole out $100 million in both fiscal years 1994 and 1995 for federal grants "to facilitate Federal and State cooperation with local school officials to develop education, prevention and treatment programs for juveniles who are likely to participate in drug trafficking, drug use, or gang-related activities." (Passed 413-12 on November 3, 1993, Roll Call #542.)

(2) Federal Succor to State Prisons, H.R. 3354. H.R. 3354 would authorize $300 million over the next three years in federal largesse to state prisons for treatment of drug-addicted inmates. (Passed 394-32 on November 3, 1993, Roll Call #543.)

(3) Five-Year "Sunset" on Brady Bill Waiting Period, Amendment to H.R. 1025. During consideration of the Brady bill, which would institute a national five-business-day waiting period for the purchase of a handgun, Representative George Gekas (R-PA) offered this amendment to eliminate the waiting period after five years and replace it with a national instant background check. (Adopted 238-192 on November 10, 1993, Roll Call #562.)

(4) Brady Bill, H.R. 1025. The so-called Brady bill would mandate a national five-business-day waiting period for the purchase of a handgun, to be replaced within five years by a national instant background check. (Passed 238-189 on November 10, 1993, Roll Call #564.)

(5) Grants to States for Development of Alternatives to Jail, H.R. 3351. This legislation would authorize $200 million per year for fiscal 1994-96 in grants to states to develop "alternatives" to prison for nonviolent criminals 22 years old and younger. (Passed 336-82 on November 19, 1993, Roll Call #590.)

(6) Grants to States to Prevent Violence Against Women, H.R. 1133. This bill would authorize more than $500 million over fiscal years 1994-96 in grants to states and localities for a variety of programs to limit violence against women. It would also federalize any domestic abuse crime which involves crossing a state line or Indian reservation. (Passed 421-0 on November 20, 1993, Roll Call #593.)

(7) Brady Bill, Conference Report on H.R. 1025. The final version of the Brady bill would initiate a national five-business-day waiting period for the purchase of a handgun and authorize $200 million per year for the states to computerize their records. (Passed 238-187 on November 23, 1993, Roll Call #614.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ALABAMA							
1 Callahan S (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Everett T (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Browder G (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill T (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Cramer R (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Bachus S (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Hilliard E (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA							
Young D (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
ARIZONA							
1 Coppersmith S (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Pastor E (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump B (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Kyl J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Kolbe J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 English K (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS							
1 Lambert B (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Thornton R (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Hutchinson T (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Dickey J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
CALIFORNIA							
1 Hamburg D (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Herger W (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Fazio V (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Doolittle J (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Matsui R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
6 Woolsey L (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller G (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Pelosi N (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Dellums R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Baker B (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Pombo R (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Lantos T (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Stark P (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Eshoo A (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Mineta N (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Edwards D (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Farr S (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Condit G (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Lehman R (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Dooley C (D)	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Thomas B (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Huffington M (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Gallegly E (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Beilenson A (D)	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 McKeon H (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
26 Berman H (D)	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 Moorhead C (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
28 Dreier D (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
29 Waxman H (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Becerra X (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Martinez M (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
32 Dixon J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 Roybal-Allard L (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 Torres E (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 Waters M (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Harman J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Tucker W (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Horn S (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 Royce E (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
40 Lewis J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
41 Kim J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
42 Brown G (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 Calvert K (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
44 McCandless A (R)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
45 Rohrabacher D (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
46 Dornan R (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
47 Cox C (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
48 Packard R (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
49 Schenk L (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
50 Filner B (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
51 Cunningham R (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
52 Hunter D (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder P (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Skaggs D (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 McInnis S (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Allard W (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Hefley J (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Schaefer D (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CONNECTICUT							
1 Kennelly B (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gejdenson S (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 DeLauro R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Shays C (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Franks G (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Johnson N (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE							
Castle M (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto E (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Peterson P (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Brown C (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fowler T (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Thurman K (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Stearns C (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
7 Mica J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 McCollum B (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Bilirakis M (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Young C (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gibbons S (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Canady C (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Miller D (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 Goss P (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Bacchus J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Lewis T (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 Meek C (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Ros-Lehtinen I (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
19 Johnston H (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Deutsch P (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Diaz-Balart L (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
22 Shaw E (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Hastings A (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA							
1 Kingston J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Bishop S (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Collins M (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Linder J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Lewis J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gingrich N (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N
7 Darden G (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rowland J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Deal N (D)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
10 Johnson D (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
11 McKinney C (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII							
1 Abercrombie N (D)	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mink P (D)	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO							
1 LaRocco L (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Crapo M (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS							
1 Rush B (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Reynolds M (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Lipinski W (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gutierrez L (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Rostenkowski D (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Hyde H (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins C (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Crane P (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Yates S (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
10 Porter J (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Sangmeister G (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Costello J (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Fawell H (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Hastert D (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 Ewing T (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 Manzullo D (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 Evans L (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Michel R (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 Poshard G (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 Durbin R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA							
1 Visclosky P (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Sharp P (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Roemer T (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Long J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Buyer S (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Burton D (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Myers J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 McCloskey F (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton L (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10 Jacobs A (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

IOWA

1 Leach J (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Nussle J (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Lightfoot J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Smith N (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Grandy F (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N

KANSAS

1 Roberts P (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Slattery J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y
3 Meyers J (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Glickman D (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

KENTUCKY

1 Barlow T (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher W (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Mazzoli R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bunning J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Rogers H (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Baesler S (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

LOUISIANA

1 Livingston R (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Jefferson W (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Tauzin W (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Fields C (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 McCrery J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Baker R (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
7 Hayes J (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?

MAINE

1 Andrews T (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Snowe O (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

MARYLAND

1 Gilchrest W (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Bentley H (R)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Cardin B (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Wynn A (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Hoyer S (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bartlett R (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Mfume K (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Morella C (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

MASSACHUSETTS

1 Olver J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Neal R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Blute P (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Frank B (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Meehan M (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Torkildsen P (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey E (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Kennedy J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Moakley J (D)	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
10 Studds G (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

MICHIGAN

1 Stupak B (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Hoekstra P (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Camp D (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Barcia J (D)	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Upton F (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Smith N (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Carr B (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Kildee D (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Bonior D (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Knollenberg J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N
12 Levin S (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Ford W (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Conyers J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Collins B (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell J (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

MINNESOTA

1 Penny T (D)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Minge D (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ramstad J (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Vento B (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo M (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Grams R (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Peterson C (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar J (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

MISSISSIPPI

1 Whitten J (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
2 Thompson B (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery G (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Parker M (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Taylor G (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N

MISSOURI

1 Clay W (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Talent J (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton I (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Wheat A (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Danner P (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Hancock M (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Emerson B (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Volkmer H (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

MONTANA

Williams P (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N

NEBRASKA

1 Bereuter D (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Hoagland P (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Barrett B (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N

NEVADA

1 Bilbray J (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Vucanovich B (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1 Zeliff B (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Swett D (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

NEW JERSEY

1 Andrews R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes W (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Saxton H (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith C (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Roukema M (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
6 Pallone F (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Franks B (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Klein H (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Torricelli R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Payne D (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gallo D (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Zimmer D (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Menendez R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y

NEW MEXICO

1 Schiff S (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Skeen J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Richardson B (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

NEW YORK

1 Hochbrueckner G (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Lazio R (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 King P (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Levy D (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Ackerman G (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Flake F (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Manton T (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Nadler J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Schumer C (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Towns E (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Owens M (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Velazquez N (D)	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Molinari S (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Maloney C (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Rangel C (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Serrano J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
17 Engel E (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Lowey N (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
19 Fish H (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gilman B (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 McNulty M (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Solomon G (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Boehlert S (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 McHugh J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
25 Walsh J (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 Hinchey M (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 Paxon B (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
28 Slaughter L (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 LaFalce J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Quinn J (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Houghton A (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

NORTH CAROLINA

1 Clayton E (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Valentine T (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lancaster H (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Price D (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal S (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Coble H (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Rose C (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner W (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 McMillan A (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Ballenger C (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 Taylor C (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Watt M (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

NORTH DAKOTA

Pomeroy E (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

OHIO

1 Mann D (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Portman R (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Hall T (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
4 Oxley M (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Gillmor P (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Strickland T (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Hobson D (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Boehner J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Kaptur M (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Hoke M (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 Stokes L (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Kasich J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Brown S (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Sawyer T (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Pryce D (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 Regula R (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Traficant J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate D (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Fingerhut E (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

OKLAHOMA

1 Inhofe J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Synar M (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brewster B (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 McCurdy D (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Istook E (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 English G (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

OREGON

1 Furse E (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Smith B (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
3 Wyden R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 DeFazio P (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Kopetski M (D)	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N

PENNSYLVANIA

1 Foglietta T (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Blackwell L (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Borski R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Klink R (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Clinger W (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
6 Holden T (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Weldon C (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Greenwood J (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Shuster B (R)	Y	N	?	?	N	Y	N
10 McDade J (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Kanjorski P (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Murtha J (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Margolies-Mezv M (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
14 Coyne W (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 McHale P (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Walker R (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
17 Gekas G (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
18 Santorum R (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
19 Goodling B (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Murphy A (D)	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N
21 Ridge T (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N

RHODE ISLAND

1 Machtley R (R)	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Reed J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

SOUTH CAROLINA

1 Ravenel A (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Spence F (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick B (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Inglis B (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Spratt J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Clyburn J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

SOUTH DAKOTA

Johnson T (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

TENNESSEE

1 Quillen J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Duncan J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Lloyd M (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Cooper J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Clement B (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gordon B (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Sundquist D (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Tanner J (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Ford H (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?

TEXAS

1 Chapman J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson C (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Johnson S (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Hall R (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Bryant J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Barton J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Archer B (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Fields J (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Brooks J (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Pickle J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Edwards C (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Geren P (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Sarpalius B (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
14 Laughlin G (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza E (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 Coleman R (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm C (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Washington C (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y
19 Combest L (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
20 Gonzalez H (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Smith L (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 DeLay T (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Bonilla H (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
24 Frost M (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Andrews M (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 Armey D (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
27 Ortiz S (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
28 Tejeda F (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
29 Green G (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
30 Johnson E (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

UTAH

1 Hansen J (R)	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Shepherd K (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Orton B (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

VERMONT

Sanders B (I)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

VIRGINIA

1 Bateman H (R)	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Pickett O (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Scott R (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Sisisky N (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Payne L (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Goodlatte R (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Bliley T (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Moran J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Boucher R (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Wolf F (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Byrne L (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

WASHINGTON

1 Cantwell M (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
2 Swift A (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Unsoeld J (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Inslee J (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Foley T (D)	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
6 Dicks N (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
7 McDermott J (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y
8 Dunn J (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Kreidler M (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

WEST VIRGINIA

1 Mollohan A (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Wise B (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Rahall N (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

WISCONSIN

1 Barca P (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Klug S (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gunderson S (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Kleczka G (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Barrett T (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Petri T (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Obey D (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Roth T (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Sensenbrenner F (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y

WYOMING

Thomas C (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

Senate Votes

(1) Enhanced Penalties for "Hate Crimes," Amendment to S. 1607. Senator Diane Feinstein (D-CA) offered this amendment to require the U.S. Sentencing Commission to develop longer sentences for crimes committed based upon prejudice — so-called "hate crimes." Senator Russell Feingold (D-WI) countered that "what is a crime is the intentional … harming of a child, of any child, not whether or not somebody was thinking about the background of the child when they committed the act." (Adopted 95-4 on November 4, 1993, Roll Call #351.)

(2) Federalizing Illegal Gang Activity, Amendment to S. 1607. Senator Robert Dole (R-KS) offered this amendment to bring a variety of illegal gang-related activities under federal jurisdiction. The legislation was written broadly enough to encompass virtually any serious criminal act involving five or more individuals who "act in concert … for a period in excess of 30 days," and who commit more than one crime together. (Adopted 60-38 on November 9, 1993, Roll Call #360.)

(3) Federalizing Car-jacking, Amendment to S. 1607. During consideration of the Omnibus Crime bill, Senator Joseph Lieberman (D-CT) offered this amendment to make car-jacking a federal offense even if no firearm were used in the offense (firearms-related car-jackings are already a federal offense) and to allow the death penalty if an innocent is killed in the violation. (Adopted 65-34 on November 9, 1993, Roll Call #361.)

(4) Federalizing Most Firearms Crimes, Amendment to S. 1607. Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) offered this amendment to impose a minimum ten-year federal prison sentence upon any criminal who "touches a firearm" during the commission of a crime punishable by more than one year in prison, death penalty provisions for murders involving firearms, and life imprisonment for a third conviction of a serious crime. (Adopted 58-42 on November 9, 1993, Roll Call #362.)

(5) "Assault Weapons" Ban, Amendment to S. 1607. Senator Diane Feinstein (D-CA) offered this amendment to ban the sale of 19 types of popular, military-style rifles tarred by gun controllers with the label "assault weapons." (Adopted 56-43 on November 17, 1993, Roll Call #375.)

(6) Omnibus Crime Bill, H.R. 3355. This legislation amounts to one of the biggest federal power grabs in a decade. The Omnibus Crime bill would federalize dozens of crimes which have properly been the sole province of the states for more than 200 years. In addition, the crime bill would implement a variety of new gun controls (including banning 19 types of "assault" weapons) and set up a new National Police Corps. (Passed 95-4 on November 19, 1993, Roll Call #384.)

(7) Brady Bill, H.R. 1025. The Brady bill would impose a national five-business-day waiting period before the purchase of a handgun. The waiting period would last a maximum of five years, until the Attorney General can implement a national instant background check system. The bill authorizes $100 million to institute the instant background check. (Passed 63-36 on November 20, 1993, Roll Call #394.)

(8) International Criminal Court, Motion on S. 1281. Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) offered an amendment to eliminate from the State Department Authorization bill wording expressing support for creation of an International Criminal Court. Helms issued a call to maintain U.S. sovereignty and warned that such a body could involve nationals from unfriendly regimes such as Cuba and North Korea making judgements upon Americans for vaguely defined crimes such as "colonialism" and "environmental crimes." The Senate approved a motion to table (kill) the Helms amendment. (Tabled 55-45 on January 26, 1994, Roll Call #3.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ALABAMA								
Heflin H (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Shelby R (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
ALASKA								
Stevens T (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Murkowski F (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
ARIZONA								
DeConcini D (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
McCain J (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers D (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor D (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Feinstein D (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Boxer B (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
Brown H (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Campbell B (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Dodd C (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lieberman J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
Roth W (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Biden J (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
Graham B (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mack C (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn S (D)	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Coverdell P (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
HAWAII								
Inouye D (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Akaka D (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
Craig L (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Kempthorne D (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS								
Simon P (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Moseley-Braun C (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
Lugar R (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Coats D (R)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
Grassley C (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Harkin T (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
KANSAS								
Dole B (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Kassebaum N (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford W (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
McConnell M (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Breaux J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MAINE								
Cohen W (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Mitchell G (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes P (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mikulski B (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy E (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kerry J (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
Riegle D (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Levin C (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
Durenberger D (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Wellstone P (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Cochran T (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Lott T (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MISSOURI								
Danforth J (R)	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Bond C (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
MONTANA								
Baucus M (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burns C (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kerrey B (D)	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
Reid H (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Bryan R (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Smith R (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Gregg J (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley B (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lautenberg F (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici P (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Bingaman J (D)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan D (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
D'Amato A (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Helms J (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Faircloth L (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Conrad K (D)	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dorgan B (D)	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?	Y
OHIO								
Glenn J (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum H (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren D (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nickles D (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
OREGON								
Hatfield M (R)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Packwood B (R)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Specter A (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Wofford H (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell C (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee J (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Thurmond S (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Hollings E (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
Pressler L (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Daschle T (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser J (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Mathews H (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
Gramm P (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Hutchison K (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
UTAH								
Hatch O (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Bennett R (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
VERMONT								
Leahy P (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Jeffords J (R)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Warner J (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Robb C (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
Gorton S (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Murray P (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd R (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Rockefeller J (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Kohl H (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Feingold R (D)	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Wallop M (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Simpson A (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N

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Local Police, Guns, and Freedom

During the brief periods in world history when freedom has actually existed, it has usually perished because it was taken for granted. Those who have tasted the fruits of freedom have customarily, in the midst of plenty, ignored the need to limit government. History repeatedly tells us that government attracts the would-be tyrant who would use government's power to enslave his fellow man.

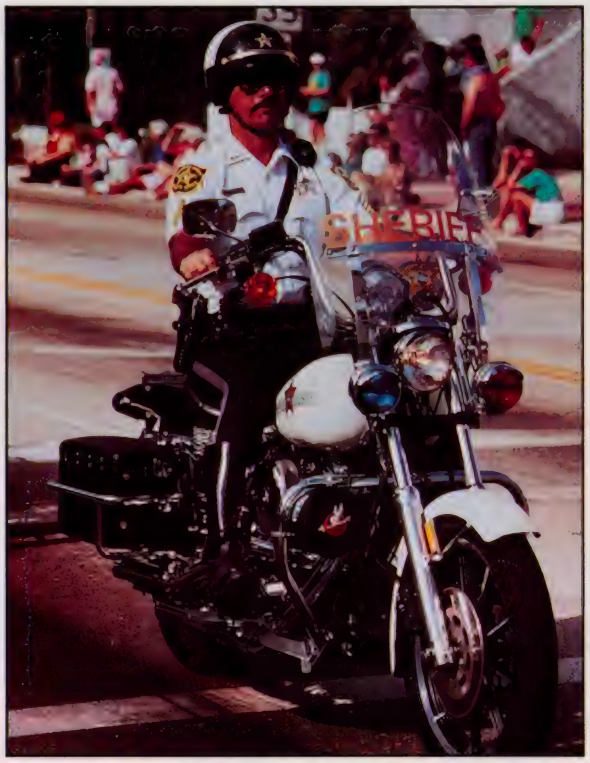
While numerous ingredients shape a free society, two of the most fundamental are an armed citizenry and locally controlled police.

When the British marched from Boston on April 18, 1775 to Lexington and Concord, they were after the guns and ammunition stored by the farmers. Correctly surmising that any government desiring to disarm them was a government aiming to enslave, the farmers resisted at the Concord Bridge, and fired "the shot heard round the world." They repulsed the British regulars, chasing them all the way back to Boston. Thus began the War for Independence, which led to history's greatest experiment in human liberty — the United States of America.

It can hardly be stated too often that a disarmed citizenry would have been forced to submit to the King's oppressive dictates. The colonists knew this and were grateful to have been forewarned of the intentions of their adversary by Paul Revere and others who spread the alarm.

Mindful that armed citizens contributed mightily to the eventual victory over the British, our nation's Founders later included in the Bill of Rights the now-beleaguered Second Amendment, which states very clearly that the God-given "right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Its main purpose has nothing to do with hunting or target shooting; it was written so that the people would be able to resist aggression, including that of their own government.

Free people, while maintaining the capability to fight for their lives and property, have also preferred to hire others to assist them. Hence, local governments with their local sheriffs and police forces were formed. Once the law officers were in place, law-abiding people found themselves able to work unencumbered by the need to carry weapons. They were even able to leave their homes and farms to visit others, carry on business elsewhere, etc.



H. Armstrong Roberts

Local control of police is essential to our liberty

As much as they enjoyed the freedom stemming from their creation of police protection, they knew that no police force could absolutely guarantee their safety or the retention of their property. Then as now, it is not the responsibility of police to guarantee freedom from crime. If it were, victims of crime could sue the police for not doing their jobs.

Even more than understanding the limited role of police power, it is essential that all who would be free understand the importance of keeping that power locally controlled. A hallmark of tyranny has always been the nationalization of police power and the transferal of its loyalty to a central government. The main goal of a nationalized police force is the maintenance in power of that central government. Whenever such a force is created, the law-abiding citizen looks upon its agents as enemies and grows to fear them.

Locally controlled police, however, are your neighbors in blue uniforms. Their role includes keeping your community safe from criminals who would rob, rape, kill, and burn. Never able to stop all crime, their main task consists in apprehending those who have committed crime, preventing them from repeating such deeds, and thereby serving a warning to others that crime doesn't pay. Under these circumstances, no law-abiding citizen needs fear the police. Instead, he enjoys seeing them and cooperates with them as a matter of course.

Any move to compromise local control over police must be vigorously resisted. Our own century has witnessed the horrors of the KGB, the Gestapo, and other centrally controlled police, who suppressed freedom with savage brutality. In America, the trend toward a police state ought to be viewed with the same horror as were the excesses of Nazi Germany's state police and the Soviet Union's KGB.

The people of our still free nation must be made aware that their ability to take up arms against an oppressive and tyrannical government is an essential element in maintaining their freedom. A government that wants to disarm its law-abiding citizens is a government that fears the law-abiding; it therefore should itself be feared.

Local police and private ownership of weapons go hand in hand. Lenin disarmed the people and built a national police force. So did Stalin. Hitler required gun permits for all but Nazi officials as he built the Gestapo. Americans must not allow anything resembling such moves happen here. ■

— John F. McManus

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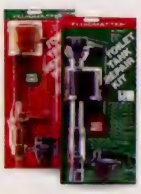

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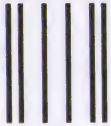

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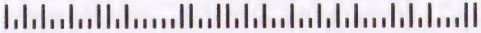

We Need *Crime* Control
NOT
Gun Control or a Federal *Police State*

In the past several months the militant gun control lobby and its powerful allies in the media and Congress have seized on several sensational shootings and a public concern over crime to push for a vast array of gun control measures, some calling for outright confiscation of firearms. The same forces are pushing for new draconian legislation to expand federal criminal jurisdiction far beyond what the Constitution authorizes.

- *But the problem is not that there are too many guns.* There are estimated to be well over 200 million firearms in the U.S., including some 60-65 million handguns. There are over 60 million gun owners. Less than 0.2% of the total firearms and less than 0.4% of handguns are used in criminal activities. In other words *99.8% of U.S. guns are not involved in criminal use.*
- *The problem is a criminal "justice" system that rewards criminals.* A tiny (but growing) minority of our population is responsible for our crime wave. For years, "liberals" have passed laws and won court decisions that handcuff the police and prosecutors while giving vicious criminals more "rights" than their victims. Now these same "liberals" say the solution to the problem they have caused is to disarm the law-abiding citizen.
- Gun control laws target the law-abiding owners of the 99.8% of firearms, rather than the tiny minority of violent criminals who misuse guns, who will violate gun control laws, and who will continue their crime rampages until they run into an armed citizen or are taken out of circulation with some *serious* prison time.
- Politicians who exploit the public alarm over crime to promote gun control instead of crime control are contemptible demagogues and threats to society who must be opposed and exposed.
- The God-given right that every individual possesses to arm himself for protection against ordinary criminals, foreign invaders or tyrannical government is guaranteed in the 2nd Amendment of the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution — the same Constitution every elected office holder takes an oath to uphold and defend.
- The lessons of history in our own century make perfectly clear how great a threat gun control is to freedom, peace and safety. Rigid gun control has been the cornerstone of every totalitarian system, whether communist, nazi or fascist.
- Another cornerstone of totalitarianism has always been the centralization of police powers under the national government. The same forces who are promoting gun control are also promoting legislation that is moving us toward a federal police state.
- Yes, we must get tough on crime, but we must not embrace Big Brother totalitarianism in the process. Our constitution strictly limits the federal government's powers to those specifically delegated to it. Jurisdiction over most criminal matters (murder, rape, robbery, theft, fraud, etc.) was wisely left by our founders to the state and local governments. Federal laws and court rulings have greatly impaired local law enforcement, while federal welfare and education programs have undermined morality, family cohesiveness and respect for authority. We don't need more federal intrusion; we need Congress to remove the federal meddling that is responsible for much of our crime problem.

How YOU Can Help Stop the Crime Wave — While Preserving the 2nd Amendment, the Constitution, and Your Freedom

- ❑ Write to your U.S. Representative and both of your U.S. Senators, urging them to oppose any and all gun control legislation. Stress also your opposition to President Clinton's federal "crime" package. Do not write just once; write again and again. And each time you write get at least one more person to write also.

  This being a Congressional election year, your letters will be given considerably more attention than usual. All 435 seats in the House of Representatives and one third of the Senate seats are up for grabs. So your letters are doubly important now. Individually composed letters which show that the author understands the issues are the most effective. These letters should generally accomplish three tasks:

  1) state your position (e.g., oppose gun control legislation and measures aimed at federalizing criminal justice and police powers);

  2) provide a couple of good reasons to support your position (see the reverse side of this flyer); and

  3) ask your Representative and Senators to do something (to reply to your letter and state his position).

  Senators may be reached at:
  Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510

  Representatives may be reached at:
  House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515

- ❑ Distribute copies of Robert W. Lee's article "Toward A Police State" from the special "New World Army" issue of *The New American*, along with copies of this flyer, to friends and associates. The same issue of this excellent magazine, besides reporting on the dangerous schemes of the gun grabbers for individual disarmament, also details the alarming threat posed by the disarmament lobby to transfer control of U.S. military to the United Nations. (Copies of the "New World Army" issue can be obtained by calling American Opinion Book Services at (414) 749–3783.)

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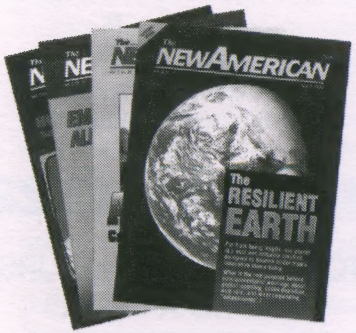

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